

**SHEILA COPPS  
FIGHTS  
THE ODDS**

# Maclean's

**THE JAMES BAY BATTLE**

## POWER TO BURN

**A New Threat To  
The World's  
Biggest Energy  
Project**



**Recommended by doctors.**



## PAIN RESEARCH STUDIES PROVE NEW ACTIPROFEN IS STRONGER THAN PAIN.

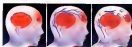
Now headache researchers actually know how headache pain happens.

In most cases there are three aspects to a bad headache:

The muscles in your head become tense, your blood vessels expand and throb, Millions of sensitive nerve endings in your head are activated.

Result: bad headache pain.

### HEADACHE RESEARCH NOW REVEALS...



There's tension...

throbbing...

pain is triggered.



Now from medical science comes a different kind of pain reliever, clinically proven to have the strength to help end bad headache pain fast. And with little chance of stomach upset. It's not ASA.

**AVAILABLE ONLY AT  
YOUR PHARMACY COUNTER.**

Not to be confused with brands with right arrow. © Actiprofen

It's not acetaminophen. It's a different kind of pain reliever, and it's available now in new **ACTIPROFEN**. With **ACTIPROFEN** pain is gone fast... throbbing subsides... so tense muscles relax, that feeling of tension eases.

Doctors recommend new **ACTIPROFEN**, **STRONGER THAN PAIN.**



**STRONGER THAN PAIN.**

# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MAY 21, 1990 VOL. 103 NO. 21

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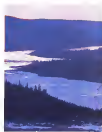
John Mortimer talks about his new social comedy; Boris Yeltsin chronicles his life as a rebel.

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## COVER

### POWER TO BURN

Hydroelectric development in the vast James Bay region is the centerpiece of Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's economic strategy. But Hydro Quebec will have to subject the project to environmental hearings. Last week, however, Quebec and Ottawa edged closer to reach an agreement on the scope of the assessment—even though they have been negotiating for the past six months. —30



## CANADA

### HOPES OF A BREAKTHROUGH

With the deadline for ratifying the Meech Lake accord closing in fast, the western premiers last week raised hopes of a compromise. Their proposal for Senate reform was greeted cautiously. But it seemed to coincide with a change of mood among all participants in the debate. —16



## SHOW BUSINESS

### BIG-TIME BIG TOP

Six years ago, Montreal's Cirque du Soleil opened traditions with its innovative approach to the ancient art of the circus. Since then, it has achieved spectacular success, winning rave reviews and a host of celebrity fans. Now the company is starting its second North American tour in three years. —64



# A Modern Monument

To reach the La Grande 2 powerhouse, which is the heart of the first phase of Hydro-Quebec's mammoth James Bay hydroelectric complex, visitors take an eleven- to 45-minute underground. There, they enter a vaulted chamber that is 16 meters high, one-third of a mile wide and big enough to accommodate two football fields. Apart from its immense size, the powerhouse is also a technical marvel. By using computers, electronic monitoring systems and a state-of-the-art communication network, Hydro-Quebec equips the powerhouse from a control centre 500 km away in Rouyn-Noranda. It is that combination of size and technical achievement that brings as many as 10,000 visitors a year to the La Grande complex, which is located 1,000 km north of Montreal.

It has taken almost 20 years to build, and Hydro-Quebec is now actively planning two more phases. If the entire project is completed as scheduled, early in the next century, Hydro-Quebec will have created a massive and awe-inspiring wilderness.

But before the company proceeds with the second and third phases, it will have to overcome the opposition of the James Bay Cree Indians and environmental groups in both Canada and the United States. To complicate matters, Ottawa and Quebec have become embroiled in a political fight over what type of environmental assessments will be used.

Senior Writer D'Arcy Jenish, who toured the La Grande complex along with photographer Chris Schwann to gather information and impressions for this week's cover story, said that they were overwhelmed by the size and scale of the James Bay

project. Added Jenish: "The size is mind-boggling. It brings to mind other projects like the pyramids of ancient Egypt or the Pyramids Giza, which are among the greatest things ever here on earth."

The Dauphine was one of the most prolific journalists in Canada, and beyond. When he died on the weekend of Feb. 16, his former general manager of the Canadian Press left a sterling legacy made up of roughly equal parts of honesty and humility. Dauphine, who joined CP in 1936, wielded enormous influence in the top job from 1969 to 1976. It was one of the 10 largest news services in the world, at the single most important source of factual news for Canadian radio, TV and newspapers. But Dauphine, a slowpoke with a trademark pre-dawn low key, close-cropped silver hair and military bearing, never let his importance touch him or any of those around him. He lived the news business, and he taught hundreds of others to respect it.

Probably the most peaceful period of his career was during 1975, after CP reporters and editors formed a union in the face of fierce opposition from the newspaper publishers who paid for one of them. Many of the organizers were close friends, and Dauphine was caught in the middle, but he was never less than a peacemaker, even during some of the most brutal moments.

For some of us, John Dauphine was a legendary figure. He was a close man to know; it was a privilege to work for him.

*Kenneth D. Lloyd*

## Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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## LETTERS

### TRADING OFF FOR LEADERSHIP

I would sooner have a political leader who speaks with the wisdom, personal integrity and spiritual authority of a man of Gandhi-slikehood President Victor Hane ("Toronto's new Europe," World, April 30) than be able to drink clean tap water. Besides, the future of our tap water is about as bright as the future of the Liberal Conservative party, which, as reported in "The cost of going green" (Cover, April 30), finally "tubed" a long-promised set of new regulations" regarding our water.

Peter Van Gort  
London, Ont.

### A SUBTLE FORM OF RACISM

Although your article on anti-Semitism was very poignant in showing the increase of prejudice in both Eastern Europe and Canada, it missed a key point ("The Jews," Cover, April 30). It was the only Jewish student in a high school of over 1,100 students, and the anti-Semitism I hear is not from skateboard or other fringe groups, but from the average person. The sufficient or even prejudiced reactions that I receive when I tell people of the anti-Semitism I have experienced are enough to make one nervous. This is not the belief that my grandparents lived through. It is much more subtle and educated.

Donna Greenberg  
Burlington, Ont.

### 'SHALLOW, FACILE' JOURNALISM

What Canada needs is a quality daily, the kind of intelligent paper readers in some other countries manage to support. Why newspapers need to be better (George Blum, Media Watch, April 23). The problem is that, to compete with television and tabloids, the better newspapers must turn to their competitors instead of establishing their own. What we see, then, is more shallow reporting and less, even opinion, more content and marketing overruns. What we need is better reporters, better writers and more demanding readers.

R. John Hayes  
Edmonton

### OFF ON THE WRONG FOOT

The photograph accompanying a comment on special relations at the Governor General's Post Guards' reception ("A woman's place is still elsewhere," Opening Notes, April 30) depicted an entirely different reception. The Governor General's Post Guards are not the only ones to wear scarlet tunics and beret hats. The photograph in your article was of members of the Royal Life



Harsh 'wisdom and personal integrity'

Rigorous, a last industry regiment suffered to wear kilted ball dress.

M. Vincent Brown  
Director of Ceremonial  
Department of National Defence  
Ottawa

### NO TIME FOR CHANGE

Changing the time slot for CTV's national evening newscast ("Tracking the news," Opening Notes, May 7) was considered nearly 30 years ago. I was at the CTV sales department at that time and well remember plotting a graph of evening "sets in one" showing the steep plunge at 11. It looked as though 11 or 11:30 would be a good compromise. "No," came the response. "Eleven p.m. is the time for news—we couldn't get people out of that habit."

Dick Sheppard  
Victoria

### THE PRICE OF CO-OPERATION

Peter C. Newman's "A new school for former Communists" (Business Watch, May 7) sounds a call for more economic assistance for Caribbeanians. I fully support the position he takes—with one condition: economic assistance and cooperation must be a two-way street. It would be proper for Caribbeanians, as well as towards producers of its economy, to return to Canadian citizens—Newcomers included—properties that have been taken without any compensation.

Karl Bross  
Toronto

## PASSAGES

**DIED:** Influential Canadian journalist, John Daughan, 76, the general manager and chief executive of The Canadian Press (CP) from 1968 and his retirement in 1971 from hospital, near his summer home in Niagara, Ont., after treatment for cancer. Born in Vancouver into a family with roots on Nova Scotia's South Shore, Daughan's journalistic career of almost 45 years spanned Canada and reached beyond. He was CP bureau chief in London during the closing months of the Second World War and for three previous years. A brilliant editor, he also held supervisory jobs in Ottawa, headed business in New York, Winnipeg and Edmonton, and held senior posts from 1952 to CTV's Toronto headquarters.



**SUSPENDED:** Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Jimmy Wicks, 61, for two weeks without pay, then his \$520,000-a-year job as a three-weekly columnist with New York's Sunday, following his recent comments about a co-worker of Oswald's secretary.

**AWARDED:** The long-awaited rock singer Tom Waits, 40, \$2.9 million, by a Los Angeles Federal Court jury that supported his claim that Photo-Lay Inc. of Plano, Tex., had improperly used imitations of Waits' distinctive voice to promote its coin chips.

**CHARGED:** Minister of state for the disabled Michael Chisholm, 35, alleged son of Liberal leadership candidate Jean Charest, with the sexual assault, sodomy and confinement of a 27-year-old woman, he pleaded not guilty.

**BORN:** To Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg, 32, and her husband, museum director Ed Schlossberg, 46, a daughter, Tatiana. The seven-pound, 18-cm-long girl is the second granddaughter of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, 60.

**APOLOGIZED:** Austrian President Kurt Waldheim, 71, for trying to cover up his Nazi past, as an Israeli newspaper announced. Waldheim, the secretary general from 1972 to 1982, and he was about to deny his service in the German army, but added that he was innocent of committing Jews.

**DIED:** British composer Sir Reginald Goodall, 86, a leading interpreter of the works of Richard Wagner, of undoubted class, at a nursing home near Canterbury, England.



“ First woman admitted to Grenadier Guards. ”

“ Cleethorpes beat Skegness in the F.A. Cup Final. ”

“ Des O'Connor has 8 hits on the top 10 hit parade. ”

“ Loch Ness Monster caught by local fisherman. ”

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## LETTERS

### WORTHY ON HER OWN

I took offense at your brief article that condemned Jessica Thady for not thanking her husband as her Oscar acceptance speech ("Flying solo," People, April 30). Instead, she said, "Good for me." Why should she thank her husband? She was the one who stayed in the movie, not her husband. Are you implying that, even in the acting profession, women cannot perform and succeed without the help of a man? I'm sure Jessica Thady would not agree with you.

Kathryn Cullen,  
Victoria

### THE PRIORITIES OF SPORT

Is "The rules of sport" (Cover, April 30, the Nation) state that sports coverage on television has "glorified images of sex" and, later, that sport lacks character, promotes health and brings the community together? I remember Toronto Maple Leaf hockey was never to be excluded?

Monique P. Gauthier,  
Willowdale, Ont.

Would someone tell me how Florence Griffith-Joyner manages to tie up her shoelaces, with those incredible-style fappozzals? Given when the baby comes, they will just have to go.

Norma Proulx,  
Mississauga, Ont.

We are living in an age of increasing priorities and we have all our just tags confused. For example, we pay a higher net worth of dollars to smother a fellow inmate with his face, and pay a doctor only a small fraction of that to assist a person for a very good cause. And worse yet, we pay a man several million dollars for doing nothing but chasing a black rubber puck down the ice with a stick. Teachers, doctors, nurses, judges and a host of other folks, who are dedicated to serving their fellow man, are more entitled to rewards and higher wages than those who are doing nothing beneficial except cause people. It is absurd once to devalue the god of sports and the god of money. Let us, as a nation, inaugurate the god of service to Canadians.

Edwin Markov,  
Coomass, Alta.

### DERISION AT SKYDOME

While I am a great admirer of our Prime Minister, two things should be remembered in mocking the booby at the SkyDome ("Bibi jerk diplomacy," Canada, April 22):



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## LETTERS

Probably the easiest task in the world is to get signatures to any person opposing any tax regardless of its merits or demerits, and by people who have little knowledge of the tax. Second, Eggenstein wonders a ball park crowd a representative, in any way, of the general population of Canada.

Shelley G. West,  
Toronto

### 'LESSONS FROM NICARAGUA'

Corbuche has learned half the lesson of Nicaragua (that an economic layout) is useful in reducing a population to subsistence), but having informed troops on the scene in Lethbridge in order ("Economic warfare," World, April 30). The task is to find local handouts who, properly armed, provisioned and trained, will terrorize the countryside with wholesale murder and pillage. Robert S. Reid,  
Regina

### DIFFERING VIEWS OF THE TAX

In "A taxing lesson for the Iron Lady" (Column, April 18), Barbara Amiel shows she has not done her homework on Britain's poll tax. The poll tax replaces rates, which were not, as she asserts, paid only by property owners, but



Katherine Witt: glamour, sex and the Leafs?

also, indirectly, by all tenants. But what is worse is that Amiel grossly misrepresents the value the anti-rich, anti-city tallied press attacks on the spending of rates by Labour-controlled councils. How shameful, in an area devoted to anti-Socialism, to see Mackenzie's promoting another form of racism and homophobia.

Mary Yeo,  
Toronto

Barbara Amiel's clear explanation of the reasons for and meaning of the poll tax shows that the description of it as "property tax" is patently absurd.

Ned Hunter,  
Halifax

### IN DEFENCE OF VOLANDIA

Select to your reporting regarding Yolanda Ballard ("A legacy at term's end," Business, April 30). Is it so unusual for a woman of her generation to

place a great deal of importance on marriage? What is the reporter's intent when she refers to her "tormentous presence in Ballard's life after the first arrived on his doorstep"? Presumably, Harold Ballard had a free will and chose to live with Yolanda Ballard for eight years. And what purpose is served by describing her as a "starchy, blond divorcee"? That is not news reporting. It is contemptible, priggish, righteous rumormongering.

Hedy de Coudis,  
Montreal

### MEETH MUDDLE

After Fetherbriegen occasionally resembles quite frequently others, sometimes even carries on at meath—let his glibly political eye is, quite often, dead on. In "Muddling through, Canadian style" (Column, April 18), he lets the real so accurately as to show it. Meeth Lake is indeed a crisis perpetuated by editorial writers and politicians. Canada enjoys grumping at itself, much as family members, familiar with the others' foibles, snipe and carp, yet would dismember anyone outside the family who dared utter the slightest criticism. English Canada likes complaining about Quebec, just as that province enjoys looking hard done by. Keep the mind alive.

Susan Bodner,  
Vancouver

Zeroed Dr. Peth, in his "Muddling through, Canadian style," out-Peths Peth. His hiatus from the muddling crowd has caused him to strike ere his thoughts were muddled a/c with the pale cast of thought.

Stanley Smith,  
Edmonton

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## LETTERS

a lot better in selling his vision of Canada than Lowell Murray and the Prime Minister combined.

*Pavel Nikolic  
Downsview, Ont.*

### ACKNOWLEDGING RIGHTS

Reader Gary Kohl cited your superficial treatment of a native land claim in the April 9 issue ("Agreement lacks depth," Letters, April 23). But, in attempting to provide some depth ("Cash, land and power," Canada, April 30), your article focused on the cash settlement without any comparison such as Kohl provided. The article also errs in stating that "the three native groups will receive outright ownership of... 250,000 square miles." It always was aboriginal land; they are simply retaining it. The media will never promote a better understanding of aboriginal issues until publications such as *Maclean's* explain that Aboriginal people are not given special rights by agreement with government; inherent rights are simply recognized and affirmed.

*Pat Chilton,  
Montgomery Creek Council,  
Nasir Fortney, Ont.*

That legendary dating of the media, Pierre Trudeau (he of the shag, the rose, the smothered wit and the back to flag), claims to be a group of Toronto high-school boys. "We're not riding in here for a knockout with the Minsk Lake gang" ("Return of a gossamer," Cover, April 2) lie in right. Just look at that picture of him standing in front of a Canadian flag. That is not Winston. That is Gino. George Puzos. Gino has a wig and high boots and he could give George C. Scott a run for his money any day.

*Maxwell Gunning,  
Port Castellan, B.C.*

### UNTIMELY ANNIVERSARY

In the Media Watch column of your April 23 issue, George Blain states that "The *Mailstar Gazette*, a weekly, appeared in 1752. That means the 30th anniversary of the newspaper in Canada is just 48 years away." According to my calculations, the 30th anniversary is 62 years away. Therefore, the tale of that week's column, "Why newspapers need to be better," is indeed a timely one.

*Andrew Barick,  
Gibson*

### SUPERIOR SALESMANSHIP

Regarding Lowell Murray's article ("In defense of the second," Cover, April 23) that Pierre Trudeau is a guy selling a book, it seems that "president's man" must have got his PhD in the art of salesmanship. He's doing

### LEARNING TO LOVE JAPAN

Dyes Ford Browne ("Foreign ownership and racial bias," Columns, April 26) really suggest that the interests of North America be subordinated to Japan? North American pride, craftsmanship and deindustrialization can catch Japan's one-on-one surprise. Japanese her trade practices would reduce the astronomical trade imbalance—the main cause of tension—and would be an improvement for the United States. Unemployment and industrialization made in Japan are not the right connections for affection.

*Serge Goyette,  
London, Ont.*

### A CONFUSING DISMISSAL

The spectacle of seeing two duly elected members of Parliament being thrown out of the Conservative caucus for doing the very job they were elected to do boggles the mind ("Sell park diplomacy," Canada, April 20). Prime Minister Brian Mulroney would do well to remember, in his cavalier dismissal of two honorable members, that he has also shown his antipathy towards the opposition of the voters in two Alberta ridings.

*Robert Simpson,  
Red Nelson, B.C.*

*Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should send letters, address and telephone number. Most correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean House Bldg., 117 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7.*

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# OPENING NOTES

A Washington hanging for George Shultz, the Queen will attend a party, and Albert Reichmann meets George Bush

## READY FOR PRIME TIME

Joan Christian, the favorite to win the federal Liberal leadership, received an indirect endorsement from convention organizers last week: bailing at the June 30 event in Calgary is now scheduled to begin at 2 p.m. local time. Initially, the organizers had considered starting the voting at 11 a.m., but Christian is expected to win on the first ballot, so convention officials chose an afternoon start in order to draw a larger television audience. Christian has mapped out a post-victory strategy, and viewers may hear the new leader issue an immediate challenge to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to call an election. By contrast, Paul Martin, Christian's old rival, acknowledges that he is using some of his own money to finance his underdog campaign. Martin has closed his office in St. John's, as Newfoundland campaign co-chairman James Walsh said that it was no longer needed after Liberal across the province elected delegates to the convention.

Christian (left) and Martin seeking a large TV audience



## Moscow's latest tourist attraction

Inside Moscow's grim Lubyanka prison, more than 150 small cells have held thousands of Soviet citizens since the building became the headquarters of the KGB, the Soviet secret police, after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. But now the words of glasnost have reached as far as Lubyanka's chilly corridors. Indeed, the KGB has created a public relations department, and its director, Gen. Alexander Kurbatov, plans to open parts of the building to guided tours. Said Kurbatov: "The KGB exists to serve society and not the other way around." Even state repression can look good with a public relations spin.



MacNeil (left), Mulroney: 'normally polite' Canadians have become noisy

## LESSONS FROM MEECH LAKE

His is co-host of one the most respected daily TV news programs in the United States, but Robert MacNeil has not forgotten his Canadian roots. Indeed, MacNeil, 58, has convinced the producers of *The MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour* to devote half of the two-hour broadcast to Meech Lake next week. This five-part series, which is scheduled to air on U.S. public broadcast stations on May 22, will focus on provincial leaders Gary Filmon of Manitoba, Newfoundland's Clyde Wells, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa and

Ontario's David Peterson before concluding with an interview with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. MacNeil argues that Canada's foreign reputation after valuable information in the United States as the members of Spanish-speaking *América* has been dramatically. But the current friction over language has caused unpleasant changes, MacNeil added, as "normally polite Canadians have become angry in the last extreme, and better." U.S. viewers might well get a lesson on language policy from Canada: politeness is good.

## A PRESIDENTIAL ASSAULT ON THE POP CHARTS

Czechoslovakia's president, Václav Havel, is a playwright. Novelist Maria Vargen Uwe could be Peru's next president. And U.S. voters chose a movie actor as their national leader in 1980. Now, an African statesman is displaying his artistic side, as Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda strives to become a pop star. To that end, the British recording company Red Bus Records recently released a recording of Kaunda singing *Let Us Walk Together with One Heart*—a song that he wrote during Zambia's struggle for independence in the 1960s. According to BBC files, the first's marketing director, Louise Adams clubs regularly play the song, and a shortened version frequently airs on local radio stations. Said Adams: "At this rate, Mr. Kaunda may find himself on the pop charts." Brian Mulroney may take note.



## Influence in high places

Bismarck developer Albert Reichmann's efforts to help Soviet Jews have led him to seek—and gain—access to top government officials in the Soviet Union and the United States. When Reichmann visited Moscow in November, he was escorted from Kremlin leaders that they would consider letting Jewish children attend privately funded religious schools. Then, in January, Soviet Republic Minister Robert Dole arranged for Reichmann and U.S. senator Sen. Wallace to meet privately with Gen. G. B. Shultz. The two men invited the president as the Jewish education project at that independent White House meeting and Secretary of State Shultz then issued the issue during a February visit to Moscow. U.S. Eyewitness Election Commission records show that the Wallace and Reichmann families have made an \$11,700 contribution to Dole's re-election war chest.

Reichmann: a private meeting with Bush

## INVITATION TO A HANGING

Some officials in Washington say that cynicism between Secretary of State James Baker and his predecessor, George Shultz, have always been considerable. They note that Baker replaced almost all his fellow Republicans' top appointees when he took office in 1982 and that he has never considered a man with 45 years experience in that job. Recently, Shultz did see his portrait unveiled at the department. But all former secretaries of state receive due honor, and the officials do not expect Shultz to receive any more invitations.

## Beware of spies on the telephone

Officials of the Ottawa-based Professional Institute of the Public Service have warned staff members to be wary of telephone callers who claim to be reporters. That is because a woman who identified herself as Lynda Dettie, a widely known column writer, called the union communications department last month and asked questions about disgraced academics at the National Research Council. When the woman failed to appear at a scheduled appointment, a telephone employee contacted Dettie in Toronto. It was widely discovered that the still-unidentified woman had used Dettie's name in an attempt—according to Jim Craig, multiple president—to discover the source of recent information leaks from

the NRC. Dettie, meanwhile, has told her NRC contacts that if anyone had phoned them "asking strange questions—it was not me."



Dettie with estranged Marc Mulroney: strange questions

## A guest at the party

Despite the uncertainty surrounding the critical Meech Lake constitutional accord, Queen Elizabeth II is still



The Queen: she is coming

scheduled to begin a five-day visit to Canada four days after the June 30 deadline for signing the agreement. Indeed, media co-ordinator Cliveau Tanguay dismissed reports that Ottans wanted to cancel the visit and stressed that the Queen would be in Ottawa on July 1 for the country's 125th birthday party—bringing wishes of good fortune, no doubt.



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## COLUMN



# Quebec must pay the price of independence

BY DIANE FRANCIS

It happens to families all the time. Junior wants to leave home, move into his own place and be his own boss. One parent agrees and the other does not, and the three argue constantly. Junior irritates both parents by persistently creating situations that lead to arguments. One parent finally capitulates and together both tell him that he may leave home, but only if he pays what he owes them—about 50 years of more and better and other expenses he incurred. Not surprisingly, he refuses to make such an effort to leave.

Junior, in case you haven't guessed, is a metaphor for Quebec. But Junior, in reality, Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parsonson, has said that if Quebec leaves Confederation it will assume payment for its share of the national debt. He has also said that Quebec would keep the Canadian dollar as its currency and let the Bank of Canada manage the money and banking system. Seemingly a concession, the cunning Parsonson knows that, as independent Quebec, without Bank of Canada backing or the Canadian dollar as the medium of exchange, would be made into monetary anarchy. Really, however, he has said that Quebec will assume 25 per cent of Ottawa's debt in return for Ottawa's giving Quebec 50 per cent of the value of all federal assets, in acknowledgement of Quebec's contribution to Confederation. In other words, the rest of Canada may end up owing Quebec, if the assets exceed the debt.

The grain truth is that Quebec, like Junior, cannot afford to leave home without assuming a huge debt in living standards. That is why, if secession actually takes place, Ottawa would be well within its rights to build an economic gun to Quebec's head to prevent it from happening, in order to protect all Canadians. Quebec, as any other lawless province, must be made to realize that it must move immediately as debt is incurred to demand the opportunity to use the Canadian dollar, to rely on the international reputation of the Bank of Canada or to forge a separate economic union with the United States. As well, Canada should ask the

**Junior must realize that if he wants to break up a home, he cannot rely on familial generosity. It's not war—it's just fair**

United States to promise that, in light of Junior's own support for unity, these actions would be thwarted but are misaligned self-interest. Junior must realize that if he wants to break up a home he cannot rely on familial generosity any longer. It's not war—it's just fair.

Even Parsonson must know that Quebec cannot leave behind Canada, its currency or its central bank. That aside, Quebec still must be given what it wants, when, in any opinion, is the implementation of the Meech Lake accord. The accord is not particularly enlightened or necessary, but must be approved because Quebec and all the important, economically successful provinces want it. Besides, if the June 25 deadline for Meech Lake approval is not met, Junior may continue to threaten to leave, a posture that is already adversely affecting our investments and economy.

In March, Germany's Deutsche Bank branch in New York City posed a list of three recommendations that its clients read the proportion of Canadian bonds they held, because they knew that uncertainty about Canada's future would reduce the Canadian dollar's value. As a result of some foreboding hailing out of our currency, the Bank of Canada is forced to raise interest rates upward to enforce other foreigners to

invest in an otherwise shaky Canadian dollar. Of course, secessionists love the Meech Lake promise. They engineered it back in 1981 when Quebec's governing Parti Québécois refused to sign the original constitutional and charter pact. Quebec's abstention was mischievous, according to a book by Claude Morin, a former Parti Québécois cabinet minister who wrote that the Parti had no intention of signing a deal designed to bind Canada together.

The 1981 deal, which came into effect in 1982, was also rebuffed by its "notwithstanding" clause, which undermines Supreme Court of Canada decisions relating to certain rights under the charter. Quebec renounced the clause in 1988 to find a Supreme Court ruling that struck down a Quebec law banning all non-French signs. Equally flawed, anti-bilingual forces would argue, is the unenforceable of the notwithstanding clause, which cannot be avoided in another case by Alberta, which was ordered by the Supreme Court in March to turn over control of provincially funded French schools to francophone parents. The difference is that the Alberta decision was rendered under the sacred "education" provisions of the charter while the up-law battle was fought under the charter's "freedom of expression" provision, considered less important by the architects of the 1982 Constitution. Clearly, all court decisions should have been binding, and there should not be first- and second-tier rights in a charter.

The success of the 1982 agreement has single-handedly escalated the family feud. Banning English store signs was disallowed and hypocritical because it is language oppression, something the French have criticized, not defended, outside of Quebec. It also belied the fact that Quebec's Anglo minority may lose more rights to services in their language than do francophones outside Quebec.

At the Meech deadline looms, Canadians are caught in a tight wedge by spokesmen from the two founding groups that continue to dredge up old grudges and ancient history. Conspicuously absent in this huge proportion of Canadians who came here as immigrants is a 14th-century agreement close Canada because it is a seigneur society with a relatively unending economy. We also accepted its strange, mathematics. British merchants and the special privileges awarded to the two main groups, even though in some regions they are widely misunderstood.

Really now is that the two founding races are becoming outnumbered. Compared with French-Canadians, there are more German-Canadians in Calgary, more Italian-Canadians in Toronto and more Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver. Canada is not homelike, it is multicultural.

Like other families in crisis, Canada can only stay together if the parties involved must to make it work. The sheer economic dependence, as well as the sheer economic interdependence of secession, are the most compelling arguments for setting aside differences. Canada with its desperate ethnic groups may never be the Wilkes, but there is absolutely no reason we cannot learn to share a roof together.

# A BREAKTHROUGH?

## QUIET DIPLOMACY BY THE WESTERN PREMIERS SPARKS RENEWED HOPE FOR A MEECH LAKE RESOLVE

For Canada's four western premiers, it was a time for quiet diplomacy. Emerging from their annual meeting last week in Portage la Prairie, Man., the premiers said that they had agreed on a strategy to clear one of the main hurdles standing in the way of a constitutional accord—disagreement over the Meech Lake accord's unanimous-consent requirement for Senate reform. Revealing only that their plan involved using a so-called sunset clause to retain that provision if it proves to be unworkable, the premiers refused to make any further details public. Instead, they said they would speak privately with the six other provincial leaders and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Still, by week's end, it was clear that the premiers' low-key initiative had at least got the other leaders talking about the possibility of a constitutional compromise. In Mulroney's own press phoning after being of the new approach, "additional signs of flexibility were evident."

But as it was equally clear that several other critical disagreements had to be settled if the troubled constitutional accord is to be passed before its June 23 deadline. In Manitoba, which along with New Brunswick has not yet ratified the proposed amendments, Premier Gary Filmon said that the sunset clause he urged formation and left several of his government's major concerns unanswered. And Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, who has been seconded by his province's earlier support for Meech Lake, continued to demand more fundamental changes to the deal.

But it also seemed likely that the shifts in positions that began in Manitoba will continue at least through this week, when the special Confederation committee that has been examining the additions to Meech Lake, proposed by New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna and Man-



it, presents its report to Parliament. In Quebec, where Premier Robert Bourassa has not renounced from his insistence that Meech Lake is不可谈判, some officials said last week that certain additions to the accord might be acceptable. Said one adviser to Bourassa: "We are ready to take some risks."

The western premiers' initiative would have struck the Meech requirement that all 10 provinces must approve any reforms to the Senate—but only for a limited time. If negotiators were unable to agree on Senate reform in that period—likely three years—the requirement for approving changes to the upper house would revert to the per-basis formula of seven provinces containing one-half of Canada's population.

Within hours, Ontario Premier David Peterson indicated that he, for one, might accept a sunset clause. Peterson, a firm Meech supporter, also told an audience of U.S. investors in New York City

that he believed the accord would be ratified by the deadline. "I remain an optimist," he said. And McKenna, one of the holdout premiers, also expressed hope, saying, "The existing old objective thing is that people are actively trying to find creative solutions." Even Wells gradually conceded that the clause merited consideration. Said the Newfoundland premier: "It isn't the only way to find a solution acceptable to the people because of their respect. And although it is not due to be released until this week, several of its elements were apparent. Among them, support for the Meech Lake accord is written, including to June 23 deadline."

In Manitoba, where Fil-

mon's minority Conservative government depends for its survival on the support of at least one of the two opposition parties, politicians were clearly cautious. Emerging from a meeting with Filmon, Manitoba Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs and NDP Leader Gary Doer, both opponents of the existing Meech proposals, said that a sunset clause would not settle all of their objections to the accord. Disputed Carstairs: "The clause is a building block in a very large building, and the other blocks have not yet been put in place."

With less than six weeks remaining before the unsanitized accord expires, the pressure on all parties to compromise will intensify. And in Quebec, where both federal and provincial politicians have insisted that they would do anything to ensure that the accord changes go to Meech Lake before it is ratified, there were at least some indications of a new perception.

Provincial Deputy Premier Bernard Boudreau, an ardent Quebec nationalist, said that Quebec must be willing to accept "compromise or solutions." At the same time, some advisers to Boudreau said that there was room to negotiate a compromise—within limits. For one thing, senior Boudreau often told Mulroney what the province was willing to discuss Senate reform, but would not agree to force Quebec's veto over changes in federal institutions. As well, they noted, McKenna's proposal to give Ottawa the right to promote the rights of linguistic minorities "is unacceptable as it is."

Quebec officials also said they are studying the possibility of an "assent clause" to state clearly that nothing in the accord reduces the rights of Quebecers. Under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, that, they say, should surely ensure that the accord's recognition of Quebec's "distinct society" could not curtail the minority rights in Quebec.

Still, Quebec officials also suggested that an increasing

nationalist mood in the province has restricted their ability to compromise. For one thing, a recent election placed the opposition Parti Québécois ahead of the Liberals for the first time since the early 1980s. And Boudreau's officials expressed the fear that the other provinces would reach an agreement on Meech Lake that the Quebec province, based on antipathetic pressure, could never accept.

Still, despite the caution, it was clear that last week marked a watershed when the mood of many participants in the negotiations began to shift. After a winter of frigid impasse, there were indications, for the first time, of a possible constitutional thaw.

GREG W. TAYLOR and JOHN HUNNE in Portage la Prairie and BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa

lion, with the recommendation that several of McKenna's proposed additions be adapted in what some participants in the constitutional debate quickly nicknamed a "Meech Lake Plus" package.

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GREG W. TAYLOR and JOHN HUNNE in Portage la Prairie and BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa

## National Notes

### GARDEN PARTY PAYMENTS

At a disciplinary hearing for a Quebec seigneur, former Conservative MP Michel Gervais claimed he gave "thousands of dollars" that he collected at a 1985 garden party to three Public Works Ministers: Bob LaSalle, Gervais, convicted last year of bribery and fraud, his sister before and who received the funds that he collected from businessmen looking for government contracts. LaSalle denied the allegations, which the RCMP is now investigating.

### HUMAN FACTOR BLAMED

The Canadian Forces blamed that preliminary findings of an investigation into the April 17 collision of two C-130 Hercules jets over West Gwent, showed that the accident, in which one pilot died, resulted from "human factors."

### A NEW CANCER TEST

Scientists at the National Research Council announced the development of a method of detecting cancer by computer analysis of cells in just minutes, compared with days or weeks it now takes to get biopsy results. SNC researcher Patrick Wang told a news conference that the method could be in use within two years.

### A TOY WINNER

The once-powerful Ontario Conservative party, which now ranks behind the ruling Liberals and the New, elected Michael Harris, is a North Bay businessman and in MP since 1985, as its leader. He defeated ex-Deputy Conservative, B.C. in previous weeks voting by party members.

### DEFENDING THE BATES

In opposition to the two Communist candidates, B.C. of Canada government John Gray maintained that his policy of fighting inflation with high interest rates is sound. Added the government: "As we get inflation under control, that in the long run will be the best way to place the economy on a sound basis. The bank rate remained almost unchanged, falling slightly to 13.77 per cent from 13.79 per cent at its regular weekly setting on Thursday."

### AKWISAGNE RAID

Ontario Provincial Police and the RCMP seized \$1 million worth of cocaine and marijuana and arrested 21 people on weapons and drug charges in a raid on the Canadian side of the Akwesasne Mohawk reserve near Cornwall, Ont. The reserve, which straddles the Ontario-Quebec and New York state borders, is being controlled by Canadian and U.S. police because of recent violence in this area and.

# Easing the distress

An Atlantic aid plan gets mixed reviews

When Angus Hartney left his home town of Trapansey, Nfld., for southern Ontario in 1975, it was on a youthful whim. "I was just out of high school," he recalls, "and I had no intention of staying there." But now the 30-year-old fisherman is preparing to leave Newfoundland's second town—along with his wife, Joyce, also 30, and his two sons, aged 5 and 10. This time, he says, the move will be permanent. His employer, Fishermen Products International, whose Trapansey plant, 145 km south of St. John's, provides 700 jobs at the community of 1,500 at peak periods, is scheduled to close next year. Last month, Hartney got a For Sale sign on the three-bedroom house that he built himself near the edge of a local salmon river. Last week's announcement of a new federal assistance program for the Atlantic fishery did nothing to alter his plans. Declared Hartney: "If I can sell the house, then I'll go. There's no point keeping two children here when there's no future."

Many of the 180,000 workers employed in the weakened East Coast fishery had their hopes of a brighter future ground on last week's long-awaited announcement: Unwinding what he called an "Atlantic fisheries adjustment program" first in St. John's then in Halifax, Fisheries Minister Bernard Valcourt outlined plans to spend \$254 million over five years to revive depleted fish stocks and help laid-off fishery workers find other employment. The plan, he said, offered the industry "choices" for its future. Some of the reaction was positive, but many fishery workers called Valcourt's program vague and inadequate, and some detractors criticised it as a means of ending a 400-year-old way of life. Saej Anthony Davis, a St. Francis Xavier University sociologist specializing in the fishery. "In effect, this means resettlement—the depopulation of rural Atlantic Canada." As for Trapansey's Hartney, he dismissed the program as irrelevant. "It's not going to help me out and it's not going to help too many."

Finally, the condition of the industry—which last year landed \$2.2 billion worth of fish—a critical. Citing low fish stocks, several large fishing companies announced major cutbacks late last year that would eliminate 2,000 jobs at plants in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. More than a dozen fish plants have closed on the north shore of Nova Scotia alone. And more will be shut down, in Atlantic Canada, says the Northern Cod Review Panel—a task force established last year by the federal government to examine the industry—said that the total allowable catch of cod, already reduced to 197,000 tons for 1994

from 255,000 in 1982, should be cut still further.

The task of solving the fishery's problems fell to Valcourt, a 38-year-old lawyer from the timber country of northern New Brunswick,

stocks to earlier levels—among them stepped-up patrols to deter overfishing. At the same time, plans for fishermen who lost regulations will be increased to a maximum of \$500,000 from \$5,000.

Still, the minister told fishermen and plant workers to lower their expectations. Declared Valcourt: "There is just not enough fish to sustain the fishermen and processing plants now in the fishery." As a result, he committed \$195 million to developing alternative industries in some of the 1,366 coastal communities that rely on the fishery—and \$236 million to help individual workers find other jobs, or



The Hartneys: 'no point keeping two children here when there's no future'

when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appointed him to replace the increasingly unpopular Thomas Solkes in February. But, after repeated consultations with the industry, Valcourt's response last week avoided endorsing the review panel's most painful recommendations. The minister declined to make additional reductions in quotas for northern cod this year. Instead, he said that Ottawa would spend \$150 million on measures aimed at restoring cod

stocks early. In addition, \$130 million in previously announced aid will be targeted on three Nova Scotia communities and four in Newfoundland that rely heavily on cod—including \$29 million for Trapansey's Seal Walcott. "It's a course that can lead to a stronger, more stable fishery."

Walcott's multi-tiered program did attract significant support. Seal Mincey Codrins, vice-president of Halifax-based National Sea



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Products Ltd. (Nurtec). "We're pleased with the emphasis on rebuilding the stacks through science and conservation. Mr. Valcourt is headed in the right direction." And in North Sydney, N.S., which lies at the threat of sheep reductions in the wilderness at its Nurtec plant—Mayor Michael White called the initiative "encouraging." Said White: "They're eager to show some leadership."

But Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells called Valcourt's plan—the third major restructuring of the fishery in 13 years—"a woefully inadequate." And on Pogo Island, 338 km north of St. John's, fishing cooperative employee Bernard Dwyer accused Valcourt of flouting the politically delicate decision to institute further reductions in catch quotas. Said Dwyer: "They have ignored the most important issues." Meanwhile fishermen Keith Raymond joined while loading an automatic book burner at a wharf in Digby Neck, N.S., a day after the announcement, and expressed his dissatisfaction from his balcony. Observed Raymond: "I'm 53, with a Grade 6 education. Where in hell am I going to go?"

Indeed, some dissatisfied fishermen stepped up their protests following the minister's announcement. Bluntly told Mackenzie, 45, of Cyle River, near Nova Scotia's southern tip, did not even wait for Valcourt to complete his Halifax news conference before making his reaction

clear: confronting Valcourt, Mackenzie demanded that the minister buy back his federal fishing license, which he said was worthless to him. A day later, about 50 fishermen based in southwestern Nova Scotia staged a five-hour occupation of the department of fisheries build-



Mackenzie confronting Valcourt (left), MacKay, painful choices

ing in Yarmouth. Declared one of the leaders of the occupation, Keith Anners of nearby Marshalltown: "We got totally overlooked by this act package."

For his part, Valcourt returned to Ottawa to continue trying to work out some of the industry's most pressing problems. In a meeting

attended by Mulroney, Valcourt told Manuel Marré, the fisheries commissioner of the European Community, that the practices of some European fishermen were unacceptable. He asked for action on Canada's complaint that some European fleets regularly exceed catch quotas when fishing far out just outside the limit of Canadian jurisdiction off the Grand Banks of Newfoundland. And in the Commons, Valcourt deflected critics who attacked his suggestion, made in Halifax, that fishermen might be charged as unexpected fees for their catch. In a reference to the fact that baggers pay on Crown lands in his northern New Brunswick riding, Valcourt observed: "I go back to any area. When I cut a tree, I'm going to pay a stumpage fee. So how come here we take this fish and no one pays for it?"

Said one of his closest colleagues, Elmer MacKay, a Nova Scotia fisherman, the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, pointed out that there have been many downturns in the fishery. But, sitting beside Valcourt at the Halifax announcement, MacKay also noted, "There's no community in Canada that has greater solidarity than Atlantic Canada."

Despite a half-billion-dollar program designed to set it in a new direction, the region will need to come

GLEN ALLEN is in Halifax with  
RUSSELL HANCOCK on St. John's

FARMERS FACE  
A TOUGH HAUL

Federal Finance Minister Bernard Valcourt's announcement of a \$3.4-billion aid package for the troubled Atlantic fishery drew a critical response last week from Canada's western provinces, who were holding their annual meeting in Portage la Prairie, Man. On March 29, Agriculture Minister Donald Maniwasko had announced a \$500-million aid package for debt-ridden Canadian farmers, 90 per cent of which was targeted for the three Prairie provinces. But Ottawa officials said the money would be released only if the provinces came up with matching monies—which the westerners say they could not afford to do. And when it became clear last week that no similar conditions were being placed on the aid to the Atlantic provinces, western leaders voiced their anger. Declared Alberta

Premier Donald Getty: "We are aware, if you have got it, give it without strings attached right now. Stop playing games."

Caught in the political cross fire are thousands of Prairie farmers—many of whom face bankruptcy as a result of low prices, high interest rates and below-average harvests. On the west bank, government indebtedness to Americans and European farmers have contributed to depressed international grain prices. On the other, high interest rates have driven up the cost of farmers operating loans. As well, many farmers are suffering from the effects of two consecutive summers of drought. According to Agriculture Canada, without assistance, farmers' total net incomes will drop this year by \$5 per cent in Saskatchewan, 56 per cent in Alberta and 55 per cent in Manitoba.

Meanwhile, executives with the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool estimate that as much as a quarter of that province's 65,000 farmers are on the verge of bankruptcy. Said Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine, who has acknowledged that his own family's 3,500-acre grain farm is

in financial difficulty: "Our needs are over the head."

Said spokesmen for Maniwasko's noted that Ottawa has given roughly \$4.2 billion in direct cash support aid to Prairie farmers since 1984—wide as similar assistance was given to the federal aid to Manitoba's trouble-ridden wheat farmers. Ottawa "We can't afford any more," he added, Maniwasko told the Commons last week that, if the dispute is not resolved, he may redirect the \$400 million into an export subsidy to help farmers sell foreign crops. But, with spring planting already under way in much of the West, that would do little to meet farmers' immediate needs. Said Alberta Wheat Pool spokesman Douglas Davidson: "The pressure is on both levels of government, because the bills have to be paid. Some farmers just have time to wait to see which side wins."

BRIAN BECKMAN with JONN WICKS  
in Portage la Prairie

# Anatomy of a tragedy

Could anyone have saved the Reid family?

It was a warm, bright afternoon last June, adults tended their gardens while children played on Rossmore Street in Wausage's quiet, middle-class neighborhood of St. Boniface. Then, gunshots rang out from the small bungalow at 175 Elmwood, and Mary Ann Reid, 42, ran out of the house screaming. Another shot was fired, and she fell onto her neighbor's front lawn. Then, her husband, Raymond, 45, emerged from the house, holding a high-powered rifle. He shot his wife again, killing her. A few weeks later, Bradley Reid, 15, ran out the front door, clutching his rifle. His father fired again, and the teenager collapsed on the lawn—and died later in the hospital. Reid then returned into the house where, for nearly two days, he engaged in a tense standoff with armed police. During his course, the gunman told authorities that he was holding another son, James Derrick, 17, hostage. Finally, 43 hours after the first shots, police fired a barrage of tear gas and stormed the house. But, by then, Reid had shot himself and lay dead in a pool of blood. The body of Jeremy, who had been dead for nearly two days, lay nearby.

The tragic events of that weekend opened heart-cracking doors into Reid's neighbors about the way that Wausage police had handled the lengthy standoff. Critics note

protection for a number of minor criminal charges. In April, 1988, Reid called in the police, claiming that Jeremy had attacked him. Then, just a month before the shootings, police were called again, this time by Mary Ann, who said that Jeremy was physically threatening his father with a gardening fork. The police broke up the fight, but no charges were laid.

Reid's drama, spanning a period from An-



Police removing Mary Ann Reid's body: a deadly 43-hour standoff

gest, 1985, to May, 1988, revealed a deeply troubled man. He described his pride in Jeremy, who, he said, was "very bright and personable." But, in the next sentence, he wrote that his son was "anxious, cunning, lay and a lying cheat." His perceptions of himself were equally inconsistent. Reid wrote that he was "unstable and better informed than most others." But he also called himself "a complete jerk because I've been unable to relate to people properly." More than once, he noted about committing suicide.

Meanwhile, Mary Ann Reid had sought professional help. In one 18-month period, the family's case was referred through no less than seven social workers at Child and Family Services of Eastern Manitoba. At the same time, the Reids met two family therapists from an-

other agency, a school psychologist, a probation officer and the police. But several social workers testified that, despite the family's conflicts, they did not consider the Reids to be in any immediate danger. David MacDonald, a family services co-ordinator, told the inquest that, a month before the June 10 shootings, he decided that the case needed attention—but that it could wait until one of his workers returned from vacation in mid-June. Added MacDonald: "This is quite beyond anybody's ability to predict. It's an act of true insanity."

The inquest also examined the way in which police responded to the outbreak of violence. Within 15 minutes of the first shots being fired, members of the Wausage police detachment's Emergency Response Unit had surrounded the house. About 20 units by then were concentrated

and the neighborhood sealed off. For the next 30 hours, police remained in contact with Reid by phone. Declared Sgt. Thomas Anderson, who monitored events during the weekend, "He said the whole incident was precipitated by his intention to kill himself and by his wife's lack of sympathy. In his words, 'I lost it.'"

The last conversation between police and Reid took place at 10:22 a.m. on June 12. Then, at 5:50 a.m., police began to volley tear gas into the house. At that point, police thought they heard a single gunshot from the house. Finally, at 11:10 a.m., they entered the building—finding Reid and his son Jeremy dead. Since then, law enforcement officials have said that the police had waited too long to storm the house. But Sgt. William Vander Graft, one of the officers who negotiated with Reid, told the inquest that he believed the police had acted properly. Said Vander Graft: "We have nothing to lose. By waiting a person out, they'll give up or, as in this case, kill themselves."

Summing up the case last week, Stuart Wintley, Manitoba's assistant deputy minister of prosecutions, said that Reid was clearly the author of his own—and his family's—tragedy. But he criticized the social agencies for not doing enough to ease the family. Said Wintley: "Each agency seemed to have a piece of the puzzle, but no one had an overall view of the family." For his part, Judge Norton called the case "a family tragedy of awesome proportions." His recommendations, expected within the next few weeks, may help to shed further light on why families like the Reids sometimes go unattended—until it is too late.

BRIAN KIRKMAN with  
MAUREEN ERGOZIAN in Wausage



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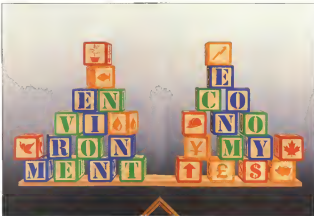
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CANADA

## Running third

*'The rules were stacked against me'*

While Liberal leader Jean Chrétien has displayed a popular campaign style in the new replacement leader John Turner, the days for behind-the-scenes cabinet minister Jean Chrétien and media Montrealer Paul Martin to delegate support. First elected in the House of Commons in 1984, after serving for three years as an opposition member in the Ontario legislature, Chrétien, 37, quickly became known for his biting attacks on government mistakes and programs. And, during a meeting with Martin's editors last week, Chrétien insisted that she could still have enough delegates away from Chrétien and Martin to win the leadership in Calgary on June 23.

**Maclean's:** If you know former minister, what would your first priority be?

**Copps:** The challenge for the leadership of Canada in the next 10 years is to guarantee the survival of the middle class. If we don't do something to give people the sense that they can get ahead, then we will see a Canada in 2010 which is a country of the very rich and the very poor—with nothing in between. One of the things I talked about at the beginning of this campaign is how we can attack the problem of child poverty. I think as Liberals we should say, "We're going to wipe out poverty. We're going to act a deadline, and here's how we're going to do it." One of the reasons I got into this race was to show how we're different from the Tories. But we haven't spent a lot of time discussing Liberal ideas. We keep coming back to Martin-Liberalism.

**Maclean's:** The new meeting this in delegates support. Do you think that you can win?

**Copps:** What we're banking on is making sure that Chrétien does not win on the first ballot. Let's say that Chrétien has 60 per cent of the delegates, for purposes of discussion. If I can turn around one-quarter of those voters on the first ballot, Chrétien will come in under 45 per cent, and it will become a very hard race after that. What we're finding is that both the Martin and Chrétien people are thinking of voting for me.

**Maclean's:** Why do you think Chrétien's support is soft?

**Copps:** A person who wanted to go to the Calgary convention but two citizens. You could

run head-to-head against the Chrétien side, knowing that you would be blown out of the water, or you could say, "I'm for Chrétien," and get yourself on a Chrétien slide. I met with 32 Young Liberals in Vancouver last week who were elected in a Chrétien slide. We had an incredible turnout, and that people coming up to me afterward who have come on side but who don't want to say it. I have also met with people secretly in Winnipeg. People are afraid of being seen as not supporting Chrétien in



Copps: I want to convince Liberals that this time is our time.

current party. Chrétien's strategy will be to keep his delegates fed, happy and away from the convention floor until the day of the leadership vote. My threat will be to get them out to the delegates' with an open mind.

**Maclean's:** Will you make those delegates come to you?

**Copps:** Well, the leadership debate on June 3 in Montreal is going to be interesting. It is an audience that will challenge Chrétien. I've tried to challenge him in a few interviews over the course of the campaign and was booed—by Liberals. They didn't like the fact that I said his support both for (Montreal Liberal Leader Sherry) Sheppard and (New Brunswick Premier Frank) McKenna's constitutional proposals is contradictory.

**Maclean's:** Why has Chrétien won so many delegates in Quebec meetings where the Parti Québécois is strong?

**Copps:** Buses. We lost one riding—the Bessie—where Chrétien brought in seven hundreds of students who were 14 and 15 years

old from a riding 100 miles away. He has delegates elected in the province of Quebec who live in Ontario. When people say, "Jean Chrétien is getting delegates out of Quebec"—yes, he is getting delegates out of Quebec. But who has the popular support? There is a Liberal and Liberal poll coming out this weekend showing that I'm substantially ahead of Jean Chrétien among francophone voters in Quebec.

**Maclean's:** Do you think the party's prospects for selecting a leader is underdeveloped?

**Copps:** I went into this knowing that the rules of delegate selection were stacked against me. The process we have is crying out for reform. We should have a system in place that calls for full disclosure of delegates' spending and a spending limit with real sanctions—if a candidate breaks the rules, throw him out. I have said from the beginning that I will publish my list of donors. I won't be getting my delegates

from multinationals, corporations. I got a line on my home. I've gotten more donations from individuals than any of the candidates. Raising a million dollars—and we're going to have that goal—is a recognition of my grassroots support.

**Maclean's:** Still, for someone who has been out of office for so long, Chrétien's support and ability to raise money are impressive to many people. Why haven't you been able to attract the same kind of money and support?

**Copps:** I am out here to run against Chrétien. You would like you'd make a wonderful Chrétien delegate.

**Maclean's:** The question is, why do you think a Liberal defeat was inevitable?

**Copps:** I am not trying to pick a new opponent. Jean Chrétien is the best opponent I could have. That's a denial of the wonderful things that Jean Chrétien has done. I voted for him at the 1984 Liberal convention. He was a cabinet minister and that earned a lot of good votes with it. But that also carries a lot of baggage with it.

**Maclean's:** If you do not win the leadership and become premier minister this time, are you planning to be prime minister next day?

**Copps:** I want to convince the Liberals that this time is my time. If the party decides to choose somebody else—personally I choose—I will be there to work for the Liberal party. I'm committed to running in another election, wherever the outcome of this race. But my mother said, "Politics is the only job where the more experience you have, the more they want to throw you out." Sometimes people want to retire their political spark. I don't want to be there 30 years from now saying, "Oh gee."

# NATO AT THE CROSSROADS

A North Atlantic Treaty Organization defense ministers met in an Albert ski resort last week to develop new strategies for the 1990s, some analysts quoted a very apt phrase: the alliance's first secretary general, Lord Islay, NATO's main function, and Islay was "to keep the Russians out, the Germans down, and the French busy." Europe is vastly changed, with the Warsaw Pact dissolved and the Soviet Union in a nonaggressive posture. But, at least for the moment, there seems to be remarkably little difference in NATO's Washington and its leading allies are meeting on the anniversary of a credible deterrent, to prevent the Koreans from oversteering to civilization. The European members—and the Americans—are unanimous as the need for a confirmed U.S. presence in Europe. And NATO is clearly going to guarantee the future behavior of a reunited Germany by tying it firmly to the Western alliance.

Still, the alliance has restored a state of anxious tension. Many analysts say that NATO, which grew out of the Cold War, will have to redefine itself to survive the 1990s—and some of them openly doubt that it can. But, for two days last week, the ministers of NATO's Nuclear Planning Group, meeting at the Kananaskis resort, 100 km west of Calgary, were concerned not with grand strategy but with specific matters of military hardware. Apart from a communiqué announcing that the alliance will have to retain a nuclear arsenal of some kind "for the foreseeable future," they reached no detailed conclusions.

In fact, no decisions are likely to be announced until a NATO summit scheduled for London on July 5 and 6. And

## AT AN ALBERTA SKI RESORT, DEFENCE MINISTERS DISCUSS NEW NUCLEAR STRATEGY FOR A CHANGING ERA

even then, there may be no comprehensive policies to deliver, because last week's discussion foreshadowed a major debate within the alliance on nuclear weapons policy.

For the short term, West Germany and the Netherlands urged the swift removal of nuclear-

armed artillery shells from German soil. But, although the weapons have little use under present circumstances because shells fired from West Germany could only hit targets in friendly East Germany, the Americans appeared reluctant to make the move. For the long term, a larger issue loomed: what kind of nuclear weapons, if any, should replace the nuclear artillery and the ill-considered longer short-range nuclear-missile launchers that Washington has decided not to modernize? President George Bush announced that decision on May 3, hoping to pressure from Congress and the West German government.

Official sources in Washington told *Newsweek* that the U.S. administration could be divided over the issue of the nuclear strategy. Secretary of State James Baker favors the prompt unilateral withdrawal of all the estimated 1,450 nuclear shells in Europe, the sources said, while Defense Secretary Richard Cheney wants to keep them for the time being. The NATO countries did not refer to the cold-shoulder war in their communiqué.

Now there are direct references to the new generation of nuclear weapons that the Bush administration is likely to opt for deploying in Europe by the mid-1990s. These weapons, now under development and known in Russia, for tactical air-to-surface missiles, could be launched from fighter aircraft capability in service. They would be capable of hitting targets inside the Soviet Union from a distance of 100 miles. Some smaller NATO members have expressed misgivings about their deployment. They claim that replacing obsolescent missiles with air-launched weapons with air-launched missiles defers the quest of East-West arms reduction. As Daniel Frenkel, director of the



U.S. troops with Lance missiles: no modernization

London-based British American Security Information Council, put it, "This is like trading in two handguns for an assault rifle."

Meanwhile, William Taylor, a senior analyst at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies, predicted a long struggle over issues within the alliance. He added, "It is hard to see the alliance and the subject of the hot big NATO debate." In Kananaskis, Canadian officials seemed unable or unwilling to play any part in that debate. Defense Minister William McCreight told reporters, "I don't understand the involvement." He added that NATO is not a weapon that has been discussed. "You jump to conclusions when you say that it has been." That statement seemed to contradict a briefing given by a U.S. official who quoted one of Taylor's remarks on the subject. Asked the official, "This is an issue for the next decade?"

Still, McCreight said that, as possible, Canada believes that NATO must maintain its nuclear capability "as a deterrent." He said, "For his part, Defense Secretary Cheney made it clear that first use of nuclear weapons is not a measure. Soviet conventional attack would stimulate NATO's options. Before the meeting, he disclosed, "The basic strategy of NATO ought to continue as it has in the past." He added that Bush's decision not to replace the ill-fated Lance missile had "no effect" on plans to

develop and deploy the MGM-31M. NATO Secretary General Manfred Wörner, who flew from Washington with Cheney, was also emphatic about maintaining a nuclear capability. Said Wörner, who is a former West German defense minister, "It is unanimously accepted by all member states that there should be no disarmament, either of Europe nor of Germany." At the close of the conference, Wörner offered a further explanation for NATO's continued reliance on nuclear forces: "We cannot make the fact," he said, "that the Soviet Union remains, and will remain, the strongest nuclear and conventional power in Europe."

The Soviets, he said, seemed reluctant to abandon nuclear weapons. As the NATO defense ministers concluded, the Soviet Union marked the 45th anniversary of its victory over Nazi Germany with a series of military parades. And in the Soviet press, tactical nuclear weapons, tactical missiles and armored personnel carriers revolved through Moscow's Red Square. Defense Minister Dmitry Yozin, standing next to President Mikhail Gorbachev, declared that despite possible changes, "military deterrence will persist."

But the Kremlin's show of strength did not disguise the fact that the Warsaw Pact is disintegrating. The former Soviet satellites in Eastern and Central Europe are only formal members of the alliance and all observers say that their military effectiveness in the past is increasingly weak. In Hungary's newly elected parliament last week, the second biggest party, the Alliance of Free Democrats, denounced that the country should withdraw from the pact and declare its neutrality. On the other hand, NATO officials claimed to detect growing signs that the Soviet military, demoralized at its loss of prestige and concerned with the prospect of massive arms cuts, was pursuing Gorbachev to slow down the pace of disarmament. As Secretary General Wörner said at the end of the Kananaskis meeting, "The future is not secure. There are still risks and instability."

Meanwhile, analysts said, it was clear that NATO will have to settle its internal divide and define a new role for itself. Some European experts claimed that the alliance could not survive without an enemy to confront. Said Samuel Rasmussen of the Copenhagen Institute, a Danish think-tank, "If the Soviet Union were to withdraw silently behind its borders and turn disarming, NATO would probably withdraw

## World Notes

### DEADLY CYCLONE

The worst storm to strike southern India in more than a decade swept Andhra Pradesh and neighboring states when a cyclone followed by rain swept off the Bay of Bengal. The Indian death toll rose to above 300 by week's end, as military helicopters air-dropped food and medical supplies onto flooded areas and boats evacuated thousands of survivors from coastal regions. Thousands of coastal residents have been taken to relief camps.

### ALBANIAN REFORM

The government of Albania, traditionally Europe's most restrictive, announced human rights reforms. Deputy Premier Marmar Myftiu said the state has lifted a ban on religious propaganda and opened the door to foreign travel. Western analysts described that as an attempt by the Albanian rulers to fend off the prospect of a move that has swept Eastern Europe.

### READ MY LIPS: MAYBE

President George Bush, who scored telling political points with his 1990 campaign pledge of "Read my lips: no new taxes," has warned that all issues—including the economy—can be table if a common budget fails. Bush eased his no-tax stance in the face of rising interest rates and a rapidly increasing deficit.

### ISRAELI ACCUSATIONS

Israel accused Washington of aiding Arab states in their campaign to stop a wave of Soviet immigration to Israel. Foreign Minister Moshe Arlosoroff announced U.S. Ambassador Leslie Brown to present the U.S. decision not to veto a Security Council resolution opposing a Jewish settlement in the occupied territories and East Jerusalem. More than 100,000 Soviet Jews are expected to arrive in Israel this year, but Israeli officials worry that they are not receiving their rewards from the West Bank and Golan Heights.

### RELEASING PRISONERS

China announced that it had freed 211 prisoners on the anniversary of last year's proletarian revolution. The move was clearly an attempt to improve Sino-Soviet relations and to gain support among U.S. congressmen who are advocating a withdrawal of China's most-favored-nation trade status.

### A BRUTAL DISSECTION

Yankelovich decapitated 36 graves in a Jewish cemetery in Carpiacus in southern France and exhumed and cheerfully incinerated the body of an 81-year-old man who had died 15 days earlier.





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### WORLD

on the rise." Added Rosemond: "It is too confirmed in its ways to adapt to a post-Cold-War environment." But others say that NATO members have the obligation to take on fresh obligations in a changed world. Said Paul Beaver, publisher of London's influential *Asia & Defence Weekly*: "Newscomers could climb aboard, such as Hungary and Poland." He added: "NATO's two best claims to the job of policeman in the new Europe are its past success and the fact that the United States and Canada are members, giving it a strong transatlantic dimension."

Other arguments seemed likely to play an expanded role in strengthening European security, perhaps in cooperation with NATO. One of these is the 15-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which includes both Warsaw Pact and NATO members as well as such neutral nations as Sweden, Austria and Finland. The CSCE was set up in 1973 as a forum to bridge the two power blocs, ease tensions and promote human rights. The Soviet Union, with the endorsement of France and West Germany, recently suggested that the CSCE could form the basis of a new European security system. The 15-nation European Community, with headquarters in Brussels, also seems increasingly willing to play a larger role in ensuring continental security, as does the non-union Western European Union. And last week, French President Francois Mitterrand repeated his call for a special summit to deal with relations



McKnight (left) with an F-16 pilot: 'techno-scientist'

between Eastern and Western Europe. Such a summit, he said, would discuss "economic and cultural questions [and] start talks on security."

But the United States clearly remains cautious about diluting NATO's role—or its own

Said Baker recently: "We encourage others to enter the picture, as long as their actions complement NATO rather than competing with it." The Americans are plainly anxious to bring home many of their 385,000 troops currently based in Europe, and some analysts predict that the number will decline to about 75,000 by 1995. But even that reduced presence would fulfill one of Lord Ismay's three commandments—keeping the Americans in Europe. As for keeping the Russians out, the Center for Strategic and International Studies' William Taylor commented last week that "the Soviets are not going into Europe in any military way." As for the Germans, added Taylor, "nobody is going to keep them down. Nobody." It seems that the Ismay doc-

trine may, after all, have to be repressed.  
**JOHN BIERMAN** and **JOHN GEORGE** in Karlsruhe; **PETER LEWIS** in Brussels; **WILLIAM LORTAN** in Washington and correspondents' reports

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## WORLD

## EXAMPLE

## Revolutionary politics

### *Social divisions dominate an election campaign*

**E**ach day and night for three weeks, thousands of demonstrators occupied Babenberg's University Square, which one banner called "The neo-Communist Area of Rome." The protesters, mainly young people, wore black clothing and carried torches to all set against the flag. Deliberately, they waved Romanian flags and placards calling for the resignation of Ion Iliescu, a former Communist who emerged as the leader of the National Salvation Front Party in 1989, overthrowing the communist regime. In the middle of the revolution, on December 3, when Iliescu traveled to the countryside, he was mobbed by supporters and, according to opinion polls published last week, Iliescu and the Front are expected to lose a runoff election in May 20. Romania's first multiparty race is 64 years. Declared Iliescu Kessler, a 22-year-old book editor who demonstrated every night at University Square. "We are not only here to fight the neo-Communist, but to say they are 'worse and more dangerous'."

Since the heady days of December, open politics have deeply divided Romanian society. On one side are intellectuals who advocate banning all former Communists from power.

On the other 400 industrial workers and peasants who credit the Front, which includes many former Communist officials for dumping and executing Congressmen and his wife, Siles. These divisions have often flared into violence. Only last week, the National Liberal Party's presidential candidate, Roldo Campese, narrowly escaped a mob beating while campaigning in Toluca in southwest Kansas. And other opposition leaders have complained about harassment by Front supporters.

In response, Washington last week recalled its ambassador to Romania. "This decision, explained state department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler, "has been taken in light of reports of irregularities in the Romanian electoral process, which raise questions about whether those elections will be free and fair."

Last week, negotiations between Linera and the demonstrators in University Square broke down. And although the talks were scheduled for the weekend, there appeared to be little hope for a compromise. The protesters have demanded that Linera, who was a senior Communist official until he fell out of favor with Comandante 15 years ago, be banned from holding public office for a decade.

ers appear more wary of the Liberal and Peasant parties, whose members have argued that only a rapid privatisation of the economy will work. Said Hasan Rukhmetov, a merchant at a Barchanov clothing factory: "We know we have to learn what democracy means. But we don't need neofascists to show us the way."

Aside from their differences on how fast to implement a free market, however, the gladiators of the three leading political parties are similar—and equally vague: they promise freedom, democracy and minority rights. As a result, the election campaign has focused on personalities. Western observers say that many Brazilians, who have grown accustomed to authoritarian rule, are looking for a benevolent leader to replace their former authoritarian dictator—the late Getulio Vargas, who died in 1964. Said Radcliffe: "We adhere him apart of helping the people."

On the other hand, Peasant presidential candidate Joe Kaptz is a multimillionaire who spent 50 years as exile in Britain. Many Romanian workers say that he represents the greedy capitalist, traditionally vilified in Communist propaganda. And although Liberal candidate Cămpănescu, who lived 13 years in exile in

Paris, is widely respected among intellectuals as an able politician, he is vilified among workers because of rumors that he was a toothed man in Paris and dies his epicurean black. Front leaders have also accused Kage and Compagno of abandoning Rimata in its darkest days. Said Cornelio Ugea, a Front supporter and mayor of Simoes, a village at Trapatuevia: "Lancea stayed here and suffered with us."

Although some opposition leaders have been included in the provisional government since late February, the Front retained most important government posts. It has also won political support for sweeping away some of the most conservative policies

of the Congolese regime. Bureaucrats are now permitted to use more than one light bulb in each room, and food and fuel rationing has ended. The government repealed unpopular laws that banned shortlets and limited many businesses to work long hours, seven days a week. And it has more than doubled the land under private ownership to 35 per cent from 15 per cent. "We looked like cretins after working 18 hours a day," said Mubwa. However, the new laws in Botswana show that the current government has allowed his work ethic to carry over.



*Abdulla: Former Communist*

Another Front supporter, Valerica Cristea, a peasant in the Transylvanian village of Săuca Nouă, says that the Front has granted her new freedom. For one, she said, "I don't have to pay a fine every time a hungry bear comes down from the mountain and carries off one of my lambs."

The new opposition parties have been hampered by a chronic lack of funds and campaigning experience. Their leaders have focused their energies on large campaign rallies, even though international experts have advised them that rallies only gather people who are already converted. Posters and leaflets are rare. And in outlying villages, only the Front has established local organizations.

Some Western analysts say that, although they distrust Russia because of her past ties with the Comintern regime, they remain optimistic that democracy will survive even a resounding Front victory. Saei Tufar Banga of Tashkent, president of the *Kommunist World Congress*: "The people here had a taste of victory during the revolution, and they have had a taste of dictatorship. If Moscow tries to go against democracy, its regime will have a lot of trouble." Despite deep political and social divisions, Romania's lingering revolutionary fervor may still see the union through the difficult days ahead.

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WORLD

CHINA

## Rolling back reform

*A chill ideological wind sweeps Hainan Island*

**T**he prostitute in the How Cool Coffee Bar on Hainan Island, 270 miles southwest of Hong Kong, was young and beautiful and she claimed to be a distant relative of Chinese Mao Tse-tung. With her gaup watching warily from a corner, Audrey Mao (the name she uses with English-speaking customers) said that she had escaped the grinding poverty of the former chairman's home village, Shaozhou, three years ago—when she was only 17—for the first life on tropical Hainan. China's leaders once repudiated Hainan as the island of the future, Deng's version of Hawaii or Hong Kong, an offshore attraction for tourists and investors. Then, last year, after Chinese leaders brutally repressed pro-democracy demonstrators at Tiananmen Square, they all but stopped Hainan development, making it one of the most prominent victims of the Communist party's efforts to roll back the capitalist reforms of the past decade.

Politely, government officials say that they

have not halted the island's development—its rise began in earnest three years ago. But, last September, they installed Lin Jiaxing, an ideological hard-liner, as the island's governor, replacing the reform-minded Luog Xiang, who was placed under house arrest on suspected charges. There has also been a dramatic downturn in foreign investment, partly as a result of uncertainty about the future and partly because of the economic and ideological austerity of the government. Even the prostitutes are feeling the pinch. Audrey Mao said that she had to leave for several months after the Tiananmen affair to escape a government crackdown on prostitution and

prostitution. Even now, business remains all "I was learning English," said Mao, "but there is nobody to practice with now."

On the surface, however, little has changed in sun-drenched Hainan. The island's six million people are still among the freest in China. Unlike Audrey Mao, most of the hotel wives of managers who came from the mainland three years ago have been well home. Now, managers send a parent once to visit, although many had deeply at night in small rooms.

The island really comes alive at around 10 p.m. Pop songs blare out of the glamorous billboards of street vendors. Madonna videos play on giant screens, dancing bag specklers into dance floor. The latest laser lighting and other such devices as Sun Myung beer and The Marx Brothers. Outdoor restaurants and street markets bustle through the night, and shops sell like Rolex watches, computer games, firearms and state-of-the-art stereo.

But Beijing's chill ideological wind is clearly blowing. That was evident from the summer from office and subsequent arrest of the 77-year-old Lin Jiaxing. During his 18 months as governor, the former official succeeded in winning provincial status for Hainan, with spe-



Lin Jiaxing cracks down

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## KOREA

# Flames of rebellion

*Student riots may signal a long, hot summer*

South Korea's student radicals say that they have an obligation to fight the *Establishment*, the very group that many of them will join after they graduate. Their weapons are rocks and fire bombs, and most South Koreans not only tolerate their tactics but openly admire them. Members of the older generation maintain that students are the only ones able to challenge the authoritarian government because they have no facilities to support and no jobs to protect. Students led the 1919 uprising against Japanese colonial rule, toppled President Syngman Rhee in 1960 and forced President Chun Doo-hwan to call a democratic election, before he stepped down in 1988. The man who was that election, President Roh Tae-woo, predicted that student protests "will eventually disappear as a huge melting furnace of democratic reforms." But, last week, Roh himself was in danger of being burned by the flames of another student rebellion, the most violence-

since the riots that led to Chun's ouster.

More than 96,000 students took to the streets on May 3, setting riot police on 17 cities and setting fire to police stations and party offices. The students were protesting the inaugural convention of the new Democratic Liberal Party, formed last February, when the government merged with two opposition parties. They claim that Roh is trying to gain a monopoly on power and that he has no intention of honoring his pledge to step down in 1993. And, as usually happens in South Korea, the riots took on strongly anti-American overtones, the radicals set fire to the U.S. Information Service (USIS) headquarters in Seoul and demanded the withdrawal of an estimated 42,000 U.S. troops. The government immediately deployed thousands of security forces in an effort to bring the violence under control.

Few of the student radicals are old enough to remember the 1950-1953 Korean War, when American forces helped to repel an invasion by

Communist North Koreans and their Chinese allies. The students contend that the U.S. military presence prevents reunification of the Korean peninsula and makes Seoul a puppet of Washington. Richard Solomon, the assistant U.S. secretary of state for East Asia and Pacific affairs, who was visiting Seoul and saw the attack on the five-story riot building, described the action as "mindless violence." But he said he was pleased with the government's swift response. U.S. Ambassador Don, aid Gregg, whose home was fire-bombed by students last October, and damage to the USIS offices was far more severe. "I was really shocked by what I saw," he said, adding that students stormed five Korean employees, who took refuge on the roof of the burning building.

The extent of the violence led Justice Minister Yi Jong-um to warn that he would no longer extend leniency. "Until now, we've tried to release lives using the police force on campuses," said Yi, in a nationwide television address. "But students throwing fire bombs are burning social chaos." According to the police, on one day alone the students threw 23,000 fire bombs while the police fired 15,720 tear-gas canisters. 1,664 officers were detained and 467 people were injured, 350 of them policemen and the rest demonstrators. Despite massive deployment of security forces, similar but still violent confrontations continued until week's end. And a student group calling itself the *Committee to Bring Down Roh Tae-woo* promised daily pro-



Students throwing fire bombs at police: their tactics are not only tolerated, but openly admired

tests until the president resigns.

Roh, South Korea's first democratically elected president in nearly 30 years, had expressed confidence that he would be spared such problems when he took power in February 1988. Although he is a former general and Chun's longtime successor, closely associated with the authoritarian excesses of the previous regime, the new president had won the

December, 1987, election without resorting to the government's traditional tactic of jailing opponents. Roh took 36 per cent of the vote, enough to beat a fractured opposition led by the three Kims—the left-leaning Kim Dae-jung, Kim Jong-il and Kim Jong-pil. And he reduced the student problem by promising further democratization and a resumption of reunification talks with North Korea, which

in the National Assembly, ending the government to push through constitutional changes.

The radicals are a small minority, roughly five per cent of South Korea's one million students. But their renewed unrest may signal a long, hot summer for their government and its American guards.

**ROGER JENSEN** with correspondent reports

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# A CRITICAL SCIENCE GAP

For Canadian scientists, it was a rare "lateral move." Late last month, a U.S.-trained drug consultant, Daniel Myers Squibb of New York City, gave a team of five researchers at Toronto's Mount Sinai Hospital \$5.95 million to study the genetic transmission of cancer and other diseases in laboratory mice. The pharmaceutical industry is one of the private sector's increasing its investment in basic research largely because Ottawa's ordering of contributions to double that spending on research and development in Canada, as return for granting them greater patent protection in 1987. Elsewhere, even in sectors as critically dependent on new technology as telecommunications and computers, Canada's research spending is falling increasingly far behind that of its competitors. Even as the booming pharmaceutical sector, a major gap remains. And the Alan Bershad, associate director of the Samuel R. Noble Research Institute at Mount Sinai.

"We're always receiving offers to go south. With the promise of more research money and better facilities, it's hard to keep reading." Canadians have not traditionally entered a global deal of research and have been slow to adopt new technology developed abroad. Last year, Canadian companies spent just 1.3 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP) on research and development—down from a peak of 1.44 per cent in 1986—while the United States spent twice as much, 2.6 per cent, and Japan spent even more, 2.9 per cent. But, as a time when policymakers—rivaling Western Minister Brian Mulroney and Science Minister William Vaxago, as well as business leaders—say that Canada must adopt new technologies much more quickly in order to keep up with international competitors, both business and government are trimming their research budgets.

In his February budget, Finance Minister Michael Wilson reduced spending on industry, science and technology programs by \$172 million to \$1.07 billion. In the private sector, the Conference Board of Canada predicts that research expenditures will lag behind industry for the next five years, a prospect that alarm camp business leaders. Says John Roth, executive vice-president of product lines manage-

## CANADA'S SPENDING ON RESEARCH IS FALLING FAR BEHIND THAT OF ITS COMPETITORS

ment at Northern Telecom Ltd., the great Mississauga, Ont.-based multinational telecommunications equipment manufacturer: "We can't afford to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water. If we don't adapt, our standard of living will erode."

The effects of the slowdown have already spread to key sectors in which Canada has shown a traditionally strong ability to develop and market new technology. Ten years ago, Canada manufactured four per cent of the world's electronic products. But last year, Canada's share fell below three per cent, while it averaged six per cent of the world's production, resulting in an \$8-billion deficit in electronic trade. Overall, Canada ran up a technology trade deficit of \$55 billion between 1978 and 1987.

While there is a consensus that a serious problem exists, there is disagreement about who to blame and what to do about it. According to Vaxago, "everybody is blaming everybody else" for the current slowdown. For his part, he says that Canadians have always been excellent at research but have neglected to invest in research to produce a high standard of living. He adds that many of those industries have never had to invest large amounts in basic research, because they have been able to prosper as an economy protected by high tariff barriers.



Added the minister: "Canadians have been able to cut it down and dig it up."

But many academics, business executives and prominent politicians say that the Conservative government is failing to provide leadership in the realm of science. Last year, the 10 provincial science and technology ministers agreed at a conference in

Halifax to work towards reducing 2.5 per cent of the total to research and development by the year 2000. But Ontario has not even met that target. Richard Martin, Ontario's minister of industry, trade and technology, says that the supply of highly skilled domestic engineers and scientists is not keeping up with demand. In 1972, doctoral degrees in natural sciences and engineering accounted for over 66 per cent of all Ph.D.s granted by Canadian universities. But, by 1988, the figure had declined to 50 per cent.

But Wagoner says that Ottawa's share of research and development spending amounts to 0.6 per cent of the total, which is inadequate funding to universities and non-university organizations for basic research. But Bernatowicz, "They are making a fundamental error in

considering the vast majority of its funding to applied research. Any company or country that's going to apply new knowledge has to understand the roots of that knowledge."

Ray Woodbridge, president of the Ottawa-based Canadian Advanced Technology Association, claims that, even before students enter university, they are discouraged from choosing careers in science or technology. Woodbridge says that in Atlantic Canada, there is little to recognize its technology heroes. He added, "The average high school student doesn't even know who (Nobel Prize winner for chemistry) John Polanyi is." As a result, Woodbridge and other critics say that the supply of highly skilled domestic engineers and scientists is not keeping up with demand.

Indeed, both Wagoner and his critics say that most foreign-owned corporations, particularly in the critical non-manufacturing sector, have tended to import new technology from their corporate parents. But Douglas Wright, an engineer who designed the Ontario-based Civic, lives at Ontario Place in Toronto, and who is now president of the University of Waterloo. "We've always depended on other people to do the innovation." There are, however, several notable exceptions among the foreign-owned firms. U.S.-owned aircraft supplier Pratt and Whitney Canada Ltd. of Montreal spent \$247 million on research and development last year, and Toronto-based IBM Canada Ltd. spent \$181 million, making them the second and third-largest private research and development spenders in Canada. The leader, by far, is Canada's giant telephone and telecommunications conglomerate, BCE Inc. of Montreal, which owns Northern Telecom and which spent \$613 million.

But only a handful of large private and Crown-owned companies spend effectively on research and development expenditures between Canada and most other countries. Wagoner claims, as a result of industry not contributing a greater share.

## SIGN OF CONCERN

An exact latest version of the Concordia experiment is being studied by its French and British builders. Aerospace and British Aerospace PLC announced that they will consider the feasibility of a "Sea of Concordia" with twice the range and passenger load of the current model, which flies at a speed of up to 3,480 mph, twice the speed of sound. The new plane would cost \$11 billion to develop, but the partners said that they will not make the final decision whether or not to proceed until 1995.

## HOME-BUILDING SLOWS

Economists and builders warned that widespread construction layoffs will mean that after Ottawa reported housing starts fell to 395,000 in April from 394,000 in March. The federal housing agency attributed the 23-per-cent decline to a steady rise in mortgage rates over the past four months.

## TORONTO THE COSTLY

Toronto the Good has won a new nickname—Toronto the Most Expensive. A report released by a Geneva-based firm, Corporate Resources Group, ranked Toronto as the most expensive city in the Western Hemisphere and the 28th-most costly in the world. New York City and Chicago came in second and third in North America. Tehran was named the world's most expensive city.

## AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK

Statistics Canada officials have acknowledged the task of the federal government's proposed seven-per-cent Goods and Services Tax. That, after the tax takes effect next Jan. 1, it will be too difficult to assure mostly white-collar consumers prices would have been in its absence.

## JOBLESS RATE UNCHANGED

Canada's unemployment rate stayed fixed at 7.2 per cent in April, despite a 65,000-job decline in manufacturing and a steady rise in government jobs. Statistics Canada said the rate was bolstered by an increase of 56,000 jobs in the service sector.

## A BIG LINGALIN WIN

Lingal International Group of Montreal has won a \$1.3-billion contract from the government of Thailand to build an elevated mass-transit system in Bangkok, the country's traffic-clogged capital. The Skytrain project is expected to take five years to complete and will be 35-per-cent funded by the Thai government.

research and development. A study released last year by the federal government's National Science and Engineering Research Council found that just 10 firms were responsible for 40 per cent of all industrial research spending.

Historically, much of Canada's research and development investment has been concentrated on a small number of large projects. These include the Candu nuclear reactor, developed by the federal government's Atomic Energy Canada Ltd., and the Canadair, developed by Spar Aerospace Ltd. of Toronto. The AECX, which has not sold a reactor in a foreign country since 1982, but which still employs 200 scientists, the reasons for that investment have been disappointing. Meanwhile, according to Koster, "we have a situation in Quebec where 60 per cent of companies have no technically trained person or manager on staff."

Many analysts say that the Conservative government's current high-technology anti-inflation policy is chocking off new research expenditures, particularly in the volatile and risky high-technology sector. According to David Doyle, president of Ottawa-based Doyletech Inc., a consulting firm that cautions start-up capital for small high-tech companies: "Unless someone has a personal fortune or a rich aunt, the vast majority of new high-tech companies are stillborn from Day 1. Very few investors are willing to back a new firm when they can turn around and get a 15- or 20-per-cent return on treasury bills or mortgage loans."

The high cost of capital is even making it difficult for large firms with a strong commitment to research, like Northern Telecom, to justify large research investments with no immediate payoff to their shareholders. Says Worth: "The cost of money is ridiculous in this country."

The highly specialized small- and medium-sized high-tech companies clustered around Kananis, Ont., in Canada's so-called Silicon Valley North just 33 km south-west of Ottawa, have always suffered through sharp swings of expansion and contraction. Moreover, because they have been unable to mine enough research funding from Canadian sources to continue to develop new products and technologies, many have had to sell themselves to much larger foreign firms with better access to global markets. Intel Corp., for example, developed highly innovative computer systems for telecom and grew spectacularly during the 1970s and the early 1980s. But, by 1985, Intel found that it lacked the financial resources to invest enough to remain in the forefront of new technology. As a result, Intel's management allowed British Telecom to purchase a 51-per-cent controlling interest in the company.

Another recent made-in-Canada success story has had its own more dramatic end. In 1984, Leigh Instruments Ltd., an Ottawa manufacturer of defence-related electronics systems and components, also decided that it needed a partner with cash and an

and to the tale: the 20-year-old Leigh declared bankruptcy last month.

In order to improve the position of high-tech firms, the Silicon Valley companies have been among the most vocal proponents of more tax breaks from Ottawa. Michael Cowplant, a co-founder of Mitel, said that he had to spend 17 million of his own money to fund his new firm, Cord Systems Inc., which created a software system that enables multi-computer-like computers to achieve the same graphic quality as those manufactured by Apple Computer Inc., says Cowplant. "The government of Canada is doing absolutely nothing. To qualify for the 20-per-cent tax credit on research and development spending, they put fees, through an auditing audit and, more often this risk, they inform you that your claim has been disallowed because your research was not risky enough."

Ottawa, however, is clearly reluctant to repeat its unsatisfactory experience with the generous Scientific Research and Experimental Development (SR&ED) program that it suspended in October, 1984. During the year before it was eliminated, finance department officials estimated that Ottawa lost \$300 million in revenue as a result of companies illegally selling their tax credits to other investors, who had no plans for any research work and who often spent the funds on lavish offices or company cars.

But hard-pressed scientific researchers point to several prominent programs and Ottawa's own pharmaceutical legislation as examples of successful ways of promoting greater investment in research and development. In Quebec, for example, the provincial government last year created the \$300-million Technology Development Fund, introduced new tax credits to attract the cost of joint research projects between government and industry, and increased university research funding by \$27 million. Swiss Professor created the 1987 Drug Patent Act, which called for drug manufacturers to double their research and development spending—in 10 per cent of their sales by 1994—or risk losing their patent monopolies, manufacturers boosted their spending by \$213 million last year from about \$100 million in 1987.

Still, such measures will likely continue to be the exception rather than the rule. And, for the moment at least, both Ottawa and private industry's preoccupation of continued financial stringency will be a difficult one for cash-strapped scientific researchers to swallow.

JOHN DALEY with SHARON McFARLEY  
in Toronto



Radio telescope in Algonquin Park, Ont., trimming

## A SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Spending on research and development as a percentage of gross domestic product (1989)



Source: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

# Who's first with Canada's gymnasts?





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## BUSINESS

# Giving and taking away

Michael Wilson wins new support for the IMF

For Canadian Finance Minister Michael Wilson, the change of scene was a welcome tonic. In recent months, Wilson has endured an escalating barrage of domestic criticism over steadily shrinking account rates and the proposed seven-per-cent Goods and Services Tax. But, last week in Washington, there was little criticism and much praise from leaders of the international economic community for Wilson's brokering of a compromise

out to be identified. "It was a masterpiece of compromise by Wilson, but no one is really happy. He made them all give up too much." Afterward, Wilson acknowledged that no single country got everything it had been looking for. With a flicker of a smile, he added, "Each country had to take a little water with their wine." Those compromises included an agreement to increase the fund's total reserves by 85 per cent, to \$265 billion, by raising the



Wilson: praise from powerful economic leaders

agreement after difficult negotiations among the most powerful nations in the world—the 22 members of the International Monetary Fund's interim committee. Using a strategy that participants privately said reaped from strong arm tactics to avert pessimism, Wilson convinced the committee to elect the governing body of the fund, to dramatically increase the IMF's lending and to impose new and tougher sanctions on countries that fail to meet their loan payments. The committee meets every spring to set policies for the 152-member organization and, in this year's session, Wilson succeeded in convincing the United States, the European Community and developing countries to back down from some of their most strongly held positions. But sources close to the meeting also said that some discontent brewed beneath the appearance of agreement. Just one senior IMF official, who asked

not to be identified, "It was a masterpiece of compromise by Wilson, but no one is really happy. He made them all give up too much." Afterward, Wilson acknowledged that no single country got everything it had been looking for. With a flicker of a smile, he added, "Each country had to take a little water with their wine." Those compromises included an agreement to increase the fund's total reserves by 85 per cent, to \$265 billion, by raising the amount each member nation is required to contribute in the fund. Going into the talks, U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady had argued that the increase be capped at 35 per cent, while IMF chairman Michel Camdessus, of France, had argued for a 100-per-cent increase.

At the same time, Wilson also advanced a suggestion from dollar IMF members, such as India and Nigeria, that strict sanctions may be imposed on countries chronically in arrears to the fund. If approved, such sanctions may curtail the power to withdraw the voting rights of delinquent countries. Conversely, more than 11 countries are in arrears to the fund in \$4.6 billion in payments. In turn, the developing countries won their campaign to have the contributions from leading nations reviewed again in 1993, rather than in 1995 as had been demanded by the United States. That

could lead to even greater resources becoming available later in the decade. Spokesmen for the Bush administration said that taking the new sanctions for countries more than six months in arrears is necessary to prevent erosion of the fund's credibility. Indeed, the linkage was necessary to obtain U.S. approval for the quota increase. Still, the committee's proposed tougher measures will have to be approved by Congress and at least 85 per cent of the 152 member countries.

The huge increase in the IMF's resources was the fourth and largest since the fund, the brainchild of Britain's John Maynard Keynes, first began operations in 1947. It will help finance a Third World debt that has now reached \$1.5 trillion. Indeed, as a statement issued by the G7 countries a day before the meeting, the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Italy and Canada said



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New golf course under construction near Toronto. Bradshaw (below): lucrative

## The greening of golf

Investors are cashing in on buying links

It was Pinchesman, a Toronto lawyer, developer and sand golfer, says that the deal was reasonable. In 1987, he was among the 500 members of the National Club—a golf course 15 km north of Toronto regarded as the toughest in Canada—who joined together to buy the club for \$15.4 million from its then sole owner, Gil Blackman (for \$38,500 each; the members became proprietors. But, instead of maintaining the National as a traditional private club, where a membership reverts to the association when a member fails to renew, the investors chose to turn it into one of Canada's first equity clubs, which permit members to sell their memberships if they wish. Since then, because of the demand from affluent golfers in the Toronto area, the 500 memberships have increased in value to \$60,000 apiece. Still, Pinchesman says that he has no plans to sell. He says that he is satisfied with the value of his investment—and he values his access to the quality course even more. Declared Pinchesman, who plays twice a week, "It's the difference between ownership and owning. As an owner, you take better care of a property and care more about long-term plans." Across Canada, as the popularity of the sport continues to soar, the links between the business of golf and the game itself are strengthening.

More than 3.5 million Canadians played golf at least once in 1989, compared with about one million in 1972, and many of the younger baby



boomers will soon be approaching their 40s—the prime golfing years. Many analysts predict that one in seven Canadians, or four million people, will play golf in Canada by the year 2000. At the same time, the high cost of land, especially around major cities such as Toronto and Vancouver, is making it prohibitively expensive for developers to build modern courses that they can open to the public. Instead, in order to generate the millions of dollars that

they need to finance course construction, more and more developers are generating their memberships as lucrative investment vehicles.

Indeed, late last month, Fairway Capital Partners, a consortium based in Vancouver and Toronto, launched a \$216-million limited partnership to finance a chain of up to 10, 18, 27- and 36-hole courses from the West Coast to Montreal. For an \$18,000 payment, each investor is entitled to a single equity unit and a golf membership in one of the clubs. After six months, investors will be free to sell either the equity unit, the membership, or both.

Fairway plans three courses for the Toronto area, two in Vancouver and one each in Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, London and Montreal. Barry Bradshaw, president of Toronto-based Golf Corp. Ventures Inc., the leading partner in the consortium, says that, in order for the plan to succeed, Fairway will have to sell enough in-

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## BUSINESS

vestment sure by June 11 to finance the construction of 54 holes of golf on two or three different sites.

Farway's plan is to be the biggest equity corner proposed so far in Canada. And Farway has asked Canadian Clubs Management Inc., a wholly owned subsidiary of Dallas-based Club Corporation of America (CCA), to design its 18-hole, CCA currently manages more than 227 affiliated recreational facilities around the world, including 55 golf and country clubs. Broadbent says that Farway members will be entitled to use all the Canadian clubs as well as

should be seen as an investment. We're really looking for good, active members."

But Goldcorp's Broadbent claims that the cost of constructing new courses is so high that all developers will eventually be forced to search out new sources of outside investment. Still, most analysts say that equity courses will have little impact on the vast majority of Canadian golfers who have to live up to play on public courses. According to the Oakville, Ont.-based Canadian Golf Foundation, only 95 per cent of golfers now play on public courses. But, despite an unprecedented course-construction

boom, a Vancouver-based real estate and development consultant, says that he knows of 30 course proposals in the lower B.C. mainland alone, compared with 19 in 1980.

Many Canadian real estate developers have also discovered that a first-class course can attract affluent buyers to residential projects. James Island, for one, a 764-acre development on the island of the same name just off Sidney, B.C., 70 km south of Vancouver, includes an 18-hole course. Thomas Loney, vice-president of planning for Pacific Parkland Properties Inc., which started the development two years ago, said that, when all seven phases are complete, the project will include 210 single-family homes. Loney says that 86 lots in the first two phases, which cost about \$160,000 each, have already been sold. Despite all the island's other amenities, Loney adds that the course "was a big selling point."

At least one new equity course opening this year was started for the sheer love of the game, but even it has proven to be an astonishingly lucrative investment. Chris Hines, one of the millionaires owners of the popular Treadwell board game, says that he was so frustrated one day in 1984 when he could not get onto a public course near his home in Toronto that he decided to build his own. He formed a nonprofit organization, the Devil's Palmet Golf Association, and set about creating the Devil's Palmet course on land whose development was controlled by the Magna Entertainment Company, about 55 km northwest of Toronto. The 315-acre course is scheduled to open in July, and a second course five kilometres away, the Devil's Lake, is scheduled to open in 1991.

Together, the courses will cost \$38 million. Hines says that he hopes to limit the membership to 350, who can play on both courses. So far, he has sold about 100 memberships, which started at \$47,000 but now cost \$25,000. While the memberships are transferable, members do not have a voting right in the two courses. Says Hines: "I plan a benevolent dictatorship. I didn't want 27 guys talking me how to run the place."

But, according to Goldcorp's Broadbent, the love of the game is not the only reason behind \$18,000 or more in a course. Sam Broadbent: "We've taken the business out of the golf. You should be able to justify the purchase on a purely mathematical basis." Clearly, now more than ever, golf is a game of numbers not just on the fairways but also on the bottom line.

BARBARA WICKENS



Money: planning a 'benevolent dictatorship' in which club members have no voting rights

all the CCA clubs, except from the Heritage Club in Banff, is the nearest. Broadbent Country Club in North Gower.

But, in contrast to most of the equity courses that so far have opened in Canada, and which developers have marketed primarily in golf enclaves, Farway and its backers say that they are hoping to sell membership units to non-players as well. Other equity-course developers, however, say that they feel uneasy about the idea of selling memberships purely for investment purposes. (Bill MacWilliam, the one who owned the St. Andrew's East course in Stouffville, Ont., 45 km northwest of Toronto, said that he made certain that 350 equity-ownership members "were bona fide players.") Recently, however, as an advertisement for St. Andrew's Valley, a junior golf course that MacWilliam is now building nearby, sponsored by mistake in the national edition instead of the local edition of *The Globe and Mail*, he said that he had to turn down at least one speculator. Shares in the course are selling for \$40,000 to \$60,000 each, and MacWilliam says that "we got in Vancouver wanted 50 shares."

MacWilliam added: "I don't think memberships born, the doors available to these golfers are shrinking. Even Toronto-based course architect Thomas McLoughlin, who has quadrupled his business in the past five years, largely because of the rapid proliferation of equity courses, says that the greatest need is for more public golf courses. He adds that, in future, these public courses will have to be built farther away from big centres, where land is cheaper. Added McLoughlin: "People will drive up to two hours to play golf. They will treat it like a day-day ski excursion."

In British Columbia, a course-construction boom and a move in membership prices are accelerated by the growing presence of visiting Japanese golfers, for whom the sport has become prohibitively expensive at home. In Japan, where all land is at a premium, club memberships cost somewhere from a few hundred thousand dollars to several million dollars. For many Japanese players, it is cheaper—and often more satisfying—to take a golfing abroad. But, as the traditionally popular destination of Hawaii has become more and more crowded, many Japanese are playing courses on North America's West Coast. The

course on land whose development was controlled by the Magna Entertainment Company, about 55 km northwest of Toronto. The 315-acre course is scheduled to open in July, and a second course five kilometres away, the Devil's Lake, is scheduled to open in 1991.

Together, the courses will cost \$38 million. Hines says that he hopes to limit the membership to 350, who can play on both courses. So far, he has sold about 100 memberships, which started at \$47,000 but now cost \$25,000. While the memberships are transferable, members do not have a voting right in the two courses. Says Hines: "I plan a benevolent dictatorship. I didn't want 27 guys talking me how to run the place."

But, according to Goldcorp's Broadbent, the love of the game is not the only reason behind \$18,000 or more in a course. Sam Broadbent: "We've taken the business out of the golf. You should be able to justify the purchase on a purely mathematical basis." Clearly, now more than ever, golf is a game of numbers not just on the fairways but also on the bottom line.

MAGAZINE/MAY 31, 1990 47



## After Meech, the economic deluge

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

While the politicians scramble to discover some magic formula that might save Meech Lake, economists have been raising their own private prophecies on the effects of the accord's possible failure—and the results of their calculations turn out to be devastating.

Because the economy is in bad enough shape already, the experts haven't been advertising their findings, but the forecasts they unanimously endorse, if Meech Lake fails, call for a major currency crash—and even higher interest rates.

"The country will be incinerated on June 30," predicts Tim Kinnear, the former president of the Bay Street investment house McLeod Young Wood Ltd. and now chairman of Toronto's C.D. Howe Institute. "Financial people at the capitals of the world will take a quick look at our new political arrangements, our federal and provincial budget deficits, as well as our current federal fiscal policy, and shoot the hell out of the Canadian dollar. At that point, with its usual lack of wisdom, the Bank of Canada will throw its body at front of the train to try and stop the slide, and pay away exchange reserves of \$17 billion or so in the process. Our dollar will eventually bounce off the bottom, further down than it needed to be, and interest rates will rise higher than they should—creating as much as a seven-percentage-point spread between Canadian and U.S. prime rates."

Kinnear is convinced that the crisis will blow over after "We'll wake up one morning before the end of this calendar year and say, 'Now what was all that about?'" A lot of international financiers believe that the constitutional episode will have dire longer-term consequences. The Deutsche Bank, Germany's largest financial institution, has already advised its clients to sell their Canadian bank holdings. "The debate about the Meech Lake accord and Quebec sovereignty can only increase uncertainties," one of their analysts concluded recently. "It is clear that a Canada without Quebec is a weaker

*If Meech Lake fails, economic analysts say that Canada will face a major currency crunch—and even higher interest rates*

country whose currency is likely to undergo a fundamental re-evaluation."

What worries international financiers is not the end of the Canadian dream, but the fiscal viability of its residual parts. No one can predict, for example, if the country does split up, whether its French and English segments will agree to form a common market. Certainly in 1992, when the referendum on sovereignty-independence was being hotly debated, Canada's English-speaking Establishment clearly signalled its unwillingness to bargain with an independent Quebec. Two days before Montreal-based Arma, led by Sir John Maclean, Co. of Canada, unilaterally transferred their headquarters to Toronto.

Despite that date—no perhaps because of it—Quebec's business has never been a healthier shape. More than half of Canada's fast-growing companies are domiciled in the province, including six of the top ten. Unlike most large companies in English Canada, the Quebec firms are run by cosmopolitans, outward-looking ones who have quickly established their presence in the United States under free trade and are now busy doing the same thing across the Atlantic, in preparation for the new Europe of 1992.

Ironically, it was the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement that set Quebec's business community on its current path of accepting a provincial move towards independence. As Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau has pointed out, the free trade deal proved the timing just, because Quebec's traditionally federalist business leaders realized that they no longer had to depend on English Canada for markets or technology.

Despite that newly won confidence, even Parizeau admits that a sovereign Quebec would have to work out some form of monetary union with Canada that would include the use of a common currency and Quebec's minority participation in a joint central bank.

Business supporters of separation assume that the United States will extend the same terms of the FTA to Quebec, as an independent state. That's probably true, not because the Americans particularly want us to break up—because there wouldn't be much point absorbing Canada, since they own nearly everything that's profitable on this side of the border already—but because they want Canada's water and electricity. Hydro Quebec will become the selling power at any future Quebec-U.S. free trade treaty. When Ted Hillen is slated to be awarded an expanding the great white's facilities at the next decade, with much of the power due to be sold in the New England states on 30-year contracts.

With \$34 billion in assets, Hydro Quebec is already Canada's largest nonfinancial corporation, though its debt load is expected to reach \$60 billion by the end of this century. Still, Wall Street is so concerned about Quebec's future that its Hydro 10-year bonds require 30 more basis points in interest on the New York market, compared with those issued by the smaller and much less powerful Ontario Hydro.

One of the major points at issue, if the country does break up, will be the share of national debt assigned by the departing state of Quebec. Grant Robber, a former Bank of Montreal president, is pessimistic about how far such a division might be. "History gives us no reason whatever for believing that newly independent states are disposed to assume the debts of the country from which they have just separated," he has noted. "Separation would almost certainly result in the most Canadian being left with a disproportionate share of today's federal debt compared with the revenue base remaining to service it."

He speculates that Quebec would have a substantial bargaining advantage in resolving the issue because the national debt will remain an obligation of the Canadian government. At the same time, Quebec would probably only assume some of the debt in exchange for federal assets located inside Quebec. The only independent state of Quebec would presumably calculate the buying price, with experience, as a discounted alternative.

At the moment, the nature of crisis remains speculative, but the world's money markets are getting up on Quebec's possible separation—and the news for Canada is anything but good.

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# POWER TO BURN

A POLITICAL  
DEADLOCK MAY  
STALL THE JAMES  
BAY PROJECT

**A**fter working for the past four years on Hydro Quebec's massive James Bay project, André Bernard says that he would be reluctant to work in Southern Canada again. Bernard, a concrete finisher from Quebec City, is one of 2,000 workers now constructing four new powerhouses, worth \$4.3 billion, as part of the hydroelectric complex on the La Grande River, 1,000 kilometers of Montreal. He earns a maximum of \$600 a week, almost twice what he could make in the south, and Hydro Quebec provides free housing and meals. When his current job is finished five years from now, Bernard says, he plans to move on to Hydro Quebec's next James Bay project, the \$6-billion Great Whale development. "I'm here till the end," he said. "I'm 48 years old and I'll work here until I'm 55." But, before Great Whale begins, Hydro Quebec must subject the project to public environmental hearings. And after six months of intense negotiations, Quebec and Ottawa last week failed again to reach an agreement on the scope of the environmental assessment.

**Objectives:** For Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, there is far more at stake than jobs. Hydroelectric development is the main James Bay territory as the centerpiece of his Liberal government's economic strategy. A large portion of the 138,000-square-mile territory in northeastern Quebec has already been leased by the La Grande complex, which the world's

largest hydroelectric development, with a capacity of 10,282 megawatts. Now, Bourassa's government and privately owned Hydro Quebec are determined to build the final two phases of James Bay. Behind that determination lie two key economic objectives: an eight-fold increase in power exports, worth billions of dollars, to New Brunswick, Ontario and the United States by the year 2006, and the availability of large quantities of electricity for a series of new aluminum smelters under construction along the St. Lawrence River. Said Hydro Quebec chairman and chief executive officer Richard Desautels: "There is no doubt that we are at a critical juncture. This is a time for choices."

Apart from its economic importance to the province of Quebec, the existing James Bay hydro complex has become a technical showpiece that has attracted engineers, political leaders and electrical utility executives from all over the world. What lures people from southern Quebec and around the world is a complex that is awesome in scale. In a land of sparse and spindly black spruce, which for centuries supported a few thousand Cree Indians and hunters, Hydro Quebec has built a hydroelectric complex that stretches 800 kilometers from east to west. The five reservoirs of the La Grande complex, which was begun in 1971 and is only now nearing completion, covers 4,534 square miles, equivalent to one-tenth the land area of the province of Quebec. The La Grande complex, which will flood 382 square miles of black spruce forest, diverting rivers and building miles of dams and dikes, aims environmentally to be called "the project of the century." Now, Hydro Quebec is determined to proceed with the second major development in that northern project.

The utility plans to begin construction in 1995 on a 200-km road to the Great White

River from Redman, a town of 2,000 created to operate the complex. Hydro Quebec's plans call for the construction of dams, dikes and powerhouses to begin by mid-1994 and be completed by January 1996. To speed its development, Hydro Quebec wants all hearings concluded and permits issued by early 1992.

But Hydro Quebec's tight timetable has created a deadlocked political fight between Ottawa and Quebec. Because of court rulings during the past year that halted the construction of a dam in Saskatchewan

and asked down work on an Alberta dam, Ottawa has no choice but to insist on extensive environmental hearings into the Great White complex. Because that project would involve flooding 382 square miles of black spruce forest, diverting rivers and building miles of dams and dikes, some environmentalists say that it could seriously damage wildlife in the region (page 54). Naturally, federal environmental hearings would not give pro-development forces any real-time input. But such a timetable is unlikely to suit Hydro Quebec, and Carol Martin, Quebec regional di-

Bourassa is a lot of stake



River from Redman, a town of 2,000 created to operate the complex.

Le Grande construction: the Cree say that they are prepared for a direct confrontation with Hydro Quebec if necessary

rector of the Federal Environmental Assessment Review Office. "From Quebec's point of view," he said, "it's a question of having the reviews according to the timetable of Hydro Quebec's engineers."

**Campaign:** While Ottawa and Quebec City argue over that issue, opponents to further hydroelectric development in the James Bay region are also being growing in the northeastern United States, partly as the result of a publicity campaign inspired by the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec, who represent the 9,700 Indians living in the area (page 54). And political analysts say that the dispute over the environmental hearings has played federal. Environment Minister Lucien Bouchard is increasingly uncomfortable position.

Bouchard, a strong Quebec nationalist and a personal friend of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, has acquired a reputation for defending Quebec's interests in the federal cabinet. But now he is being called upon to reinforce the federal position as a slow-down with his home province. At the same time, David Cliche, one of the minister's Quebec advisers, said that Bouchard is under political pressure from Western Canada to stand up to Quebec because of the Federal Court of Canada decision against completion of the Koffsky-Alberta dam in Saskatchewan.

and the Oldman River dam in Alberta. Officials in Bouchard's office said last week that the minister had no comment to make on the deadlocked negotiations. But Cliche said "Bouchard must be seen to be in strict with Quebec as he is with the western provinces. You can see the western provinces are watching him closely."

Martin said that there have been about 10 meetings since Ottawa-Quebec negotiations began in earnest in December, 1989. According to a senior federal environmental official, who requested anonymity, Quebec's negotiating strategy has been based on the assumption that Bouchard would back down rather than fight at a time when federal-provincial relations are under a serious strain because of disagreement over the March Lake constitutional accord. The same official added that the Quebec negotiators appear to be convinced that, even if Bouchard revises his firm, they could persuade Mulroney to accept that compromise for aboriginal environmental hearings.

**Review:** Federal officials claim that Quebec's position has remained almost unchanged since the negotiations began. Martin said that the province wants the environmental assessments carried out in two stages. The first would deal with access roads, streams and source terminals, and Quebec contends that

Ottawa should not be involved at this point. The second would examine the impact of the dams, dikes, reservoirs and powerhouses on the environment. Quebec has stipulated that this review must be complete within four months, Martin said. He added, "Our position is that the review panels themselves have to be free to decide the proper time frame."

Federal officials say that Ottawa is merely waiting on a proper statement of the Great White project. Later, a separate round of environmental hearings would be required for the third phase in the project, the Northwest-Bouchard River (NWR) complex, named after the three river systems that would be developed, which is scheduled to be constructed between 1995 and 2006.

At the same time, active groups and environmentalists say that they are determined to halt the Great White and NWR projects altogether. The Grand Council of the Crees has launched legal actions in the Federal Court of Canada and the Quebec Superior Court to block Hydro Quebec's plans. Cree spokesmen say that they are also prepared to accept negotiations with the provincial government. Said Joseph Gauthier, an Ottawa-based official with the Grand Council: "We may be compelled to step in front of bulldozers this fall."

There are signs, too, that ordinary Quebec-



## SOME EXPERTS ARE QUESTIONING THE ECONOMIC WISDOM OF THE PROJECT



**Dynamiting:** many Quebecers are captivated by the megaproject's huge scale

ers are beginning to question the necessity of more hydroelectric megaprojects in their province. A public opinion poll conducted in April and published in the Montreal weekly newspaper *This Week in Quebec* showed that 51 per cent of the respondents said Hydro Quebec should not pursue job creation and energy security at the expense of the environment and the native population.

However, many Quebecers are clearly captivated by the vast scale of the project. Gilles Bédard, a Hydro Quebec public relations officer based in Radisson, said that about 10,000 people visit the La Grande complex every year. The visit, especially for Quebec residents who arrive on airplanes and tour buses, visit La Grande and spend one or two nights in Radisson's only hotel. The project also attracts engineers from all over the world and visitors to the province of the Quebec government.

**Realizations:** Construction of the complex began more than 20 years after the idea was first proposed. A team of engineers from a privately owned Quebec utility called Shawinigan Water and Power Co. examined the hydroelectric potential of James Bay from 1960 to 1962. Hydro Quebec spent six years, between 1964 and 1970, studying the territory before deciding to proceed in the fall of 1970. During the construction of La Grande, the headwaters of the Saguenay River, which once flowed northeast into Ungavay Bay, were blocked and diverted so that they now flow west into James Bay.

Altogether, Hydro Quebec has so far taken control of three watersheds in the James Bay region by building new dams and 200-kilowatt turbines for a total of 81 dams. These water-

retaining structures, as they are called, were constructed from 201 million cubic yards of rock, gravel and rock—enough to form the road bed for 280 km of four-lane highway. La Grande 3-dam, one of the principal structures on the entire project, is 1.7 miles long, about half a mile thick at the base and as high as a 23-story building.

Hydro Quebec initially built three powerhouses, called La Grande 2, 3 and 4, which are capable of supplying electricity to a city of five

million people. Now, it is building four more powerhouses that will increase the La Grande's electrical generating capacity by 45 per cent to 14,781 megawatts. The components of the entire project are the powerhouses called LG2 and LG3A, which were blasted out of granite 45 stories underground. LG2, the 100-largest powerhouse in the world, is one-third of a mile long and large enough to accommodate two football fields. Despite the vast size of the La Grande complex, planners at Hydro Quebec are sure that they hope to complete construction of the two new projects, the Great White and 800 complex, by early in the next century. They would increase Hydro Quebec's James Bay capacity by 71 per cent, raising total electrical output to 38,000 megawatts.

**Wisdom:** In the past, critics of the James Bay projects have focused primarily on the potential environmental consequences. Now, some experts are beginning to question the economic wisdom of the projects as well. Ian Goodson, a Boston-based energy consultant who earned out an economic analysis of Great White for the Cree, said that Hydro Quebec could end up with excess capacity and unfunded powerhouses only in the next century.

In that case, Quebec consumers would face steep rate increases to enable the utility to cover the huge annual interest charges on its loans and debentures. Goodson noted that Quebec's population is growing slowly and that U.S. power utilities are attempting to reduce consumption through conservation.

Other critics say that about \$3.5 billion in debt charges related to the La Grande complex have already strained Hydro Quebec's finances. Last year, the utility spent \$3.5 billion, or 45 per cent of its \$5.5-billion revenues, in interest payments. *Hydro Quebec-Labrador*, director general of the *Centre for Energy Policy Analysis* near Montreal, said that Hydro

Quebec has cut back spending on routine maintenance and equipment replacement, which has resulted in a record number of blackouts in order to meet its debt charges.

**Investors:** For their part, Hydro Quebec executives point out that they have attracted James Bay not other major projects, such as transmission lines, to carry electricity south, with government-backed banks and debentures. These securities are sold to investors for terms ranging from five to 10 years and at fixed rates of interest. André Marz, the utility's assistant treasurer and director of financing, said that Hydro Quebec has already raised \$1.9 billion this year through the sale of bonds and debentures, and plans to raise another \$1.1 billion this fall. Said Marz: "We're quite comfortable."

Hydro Quebec was in the middle of construction and a recession hit, we would be in a position to adjust our construction capacity."

In re-development plan for the 1990s, which is currently under review by a committee of the Quebec national assembly, Hydro Quebec defends its export policy of the previous decade. The utility also says that experts will play a critical role in explaining for the 1990s. Hydro Quebec said that it earned \$5 billion by selling power to the United States during the 1990s.

**James Bay bay claims that the benefits to the consumer will be long-term**

## THE JAMES BAY POWER GRID



which is one of the main reasons that residential hydro rates in Quebec are among the lowest in North America.

Now, with the utility's plan to increase exports highlighted by the year 2000, exports would rise to 29.5 per cent of total sales from 1.5 per cent in 1995. In order to achieve that objective, Hydro Quebec is seeking provincial approval to build the Great White and 800 projects before they are needed to meet Quebec's own electrical needs. In return, officials

share the risk with their companies."

Besides the benefits of hydro development, Hydro Quebec executives point out that it is a desirable way of producing electricity than burning coal, natural gas or oil, and other than using nuclear energy. They claim that Quebec's demand for electricity will grow by 40 per cent within 15 years. In order to meet that demand, Hydro Quebec is planning to build with a total capacity of 6,600 megawatts must be built. If Quebec does not use hydroelectricity, it will be forced to use coal, natural gas, oil or nuclear. Said Drouin: "In our view, none of the alternatives are feasible economically, technically or environmentally. Hydroelectricity is our first choice."

**Fight:** That determination to continue developing Quebec's hydroelectric potential means that Bousquet's government and its past utility will undoubtedly continue to fight for the Great White project, the next step in the massive James Bay development. Hydro Quebec has already built the largest hydroelectric project in the world in a case-remote wilderness where winter temperatures frequently plunge to -40°C. As Montreal investment bank Joseph J. Benoit says, the cold waters that spill into James Bay "is a unique and valuable asset, something that no many other parts of the world possess." Now, in the struggle that looms over James Bay, the Cree and their allies in the environmental movement are determined to protect those waters, while Hydro Quebec is determined to harness them.

**Powerhouse construction plans for two new projects by the 21st century**



**D'ARCY JENNIE** with **JOSE LAFRANCE** in **Trinity** **DOUG NORDEN** in **Chateau** and **BARREY CARRE** in **Montreal**

# THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN

JAMES BAY HAS CAUSED U.S. PROTESTS

**A** 44 ecologist living in the Blue Ridge Mountains near Blowing Rock, N.C., Karro Lohr says that she takes a deepened view of most large-scale hydroelectric projects. From the 1940s onward, thousands of people in the Appalachian region of the eastern United States were uprooted to make way for the massive power dams built by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Although Lohr says she regrets that the sites of some former towns and villages now are submerged in the waters of TVA reservoirs, the lecture at Appalachian State University in Boone, N.C., expresses even greater concerns about Hydro Quebec's plans for extensive new developments in the James Bay region. Said Lohr: "The TVA really weakened the whole social fabric of our region, but their dams are nothing in comparison to what's being planned for James Bay."

Plans: The project has frequently caused controversy among special interest groups in the United States. Ever since the state of Vermont's Republican government introduced plans to run a transmission line for Quebec electrical power through the state in the early 1980s, pockets of opposition have emerged in the American northeast. Now, resistance to the planned expansion of the James Bay hydroelectric project is growing in several other parts of the United States. In Vermont, members of five environmental organizations, as well as representatives of the Cree Indians in the James Bay region, have criticized the project at public hearings. And in New York state, lawyers for the San Francisco-based environmental organization the Sierra Club formally requested in April that the New York Power Authority conduct an environmental assessment of its contract with Hydro-Quebec. In recent months, a handful of protesters in local environmental concerns have kept local public attention on the James Bay project. Prompted by three environmental groups involving scores of local residents erupted over a \$9-billion Hydro-Quebec export contract with the state's largest utility. The protests were aimed at the utility's plans to build a transmission line from Quebec to a point near Portland, Me. Critics said that it could damage the local environment. Later, the contract and the transmission line were vetoed by Maine's public utilities commission, at a loss of \$10 million to the state. A total of seven U.S. states currently have contracts with Hydro-Quebec.

Officials of Hydro-Quebec insist that the claims being made against the James Bay project in the United States are unfounded.

Said Jacques Gervais, an executive vice-president of the corporation: "We can prove that our project is the one that expects least on the environment." Still, for some American environmentalists, James Bay has become an important issue. Said Mayor Peter Claville of Burlington, Vt.: "It's hypocritical for us to

body of American supporters to raise than 25 environmental organizations have begun to oppose existing contracts between Hydro-Quebec and U.S. power utilities. At a series of hearings held by the Vermont Public Service Board in February, members of one group that opposed a proposed 450-megawatt export con-



Lohr concerns about a real weakening of 'the whole social fabric' of a region

cession about local fair treatment and against James Bay. The sheer scale of the project will create unacceptable results."

**ANALYSIS** Concern over the environmental consequences of the James Bay project enveloped into the international arena after the Grand Council of the Cree of Quebec decided to seek American support for their case against the project. They subsequently won the support of the New York City-based National Audubon Society, which released a report last July that was highly critical of the project. The Cree have also taken their protest to New York City, where they arrived in late April after a journey down the Hudson River in a native vessel. The journey was intended, in part, to stir up opposition to the \$17-billion agreement, signed in 1989, under which Hydro-Quebec will deliver 1,000 megawatts of power to New York between 1996 and 2013. Said George Struzinger, commissioner of the Vermont government's public service department: "They are conducting a very clever campaign."

As a result of the Cree campaign, a growing

friction between Hydro-Quebec and 26 Vermont utilities claimed that the deal would ultimately be detrimental to the 9,700 Cree who live permanently on the area covered by the project. Although the board later ruled that controversy over James Bay was irrelevant to the contract, the state's public service department recommended that the board approve a deal for only 340 megawatts (a megawatt equals 1,000 watts of power). Said Struzinger: "There are a number of people in the state who have reached a conclusion that James Bay is bad."

Vermont's difficulties may not be over yet. Even if the Vermont Public Service Board acquiesces the export contract, opponents could still take their case to the state Supreme Court and argue that the contract is in the public interest. That action could be simply a harbinger of problems to come in other New England states, as the James Bay Cree continue to assert public opinion among millions of Hydro-Quebec's potential American customers.

DAN WURKE in Burlington

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

COVER



Chisasibi Cree deputy chief Tapscott: traditional ways and joint ventures

they received from Ottawa and Quebec in return for relinquishing claims to 70,000 square miles of land for the first phase of the James Bay hydroelectric project. Air Creebec now employs 300 people and brings in \$30 million a year in revenues, compared with \$10 million during its first year of operation. This year, projected operating profits are \$3 million.

Most of the other Cree ventures are based on individual commitments. In 1980, Diamond's head entered into a joint venture with Toronto-based Yuma Motor Canada Ltd. and its Japanese counterpart to manufacture 23-foot fibre-glass canoes at a factory in Wabigoon, on the southwest coast of James Bay. The new company, which is called Cree Yuma Motors Ltd., has sold boats to local fishermen in the Arctic and elsewhere in Atlantic Canada, Diamond said. But he acknowledged that it is in the tradition to convince other Cree to switch from the traditional wooden fishing boats.

Indefinite Diamond canoes, Diamond said that Cree Yuma will also manufacture a 20-foot diesel-powered boat capable of carrying 75,000 lb. of cargo. Diamond said that the company has orders for seven of the boats, which will sell for \$200,000 apiece. The Wabigoon Cree also have controlling interest in a commercial shipping company called Moosemen Transportation Ltd., which is based in Moosemen, Ont., on the southwest coast of James Bay. The company carries coal, food and other goods to communities on both sides of the bay during the summer months.

Still, such traditional occupations as fishing and trapping remain the primary forms of employment for many Cree. The 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, under which the Cree gave up parts of their territory for hydroelectric development, created an income-security program. Under the system, the Quebec government subsidizes individual Cree who spend a certain number of days each year hunting, trapping and fishing. Norman Hawkins, a Montreal chartered accountant, said that, as of March 31, 1986, more than 1,200 families received a total of \$121 million in income-security payments. Added Samuel Tapscott, deputy chief of the Chisasibi band: "We don't hunt for sport. It's a way of life for us."

The Cree who still follow the traditional way of life usually spend no more than a year trapping beaver and other animals. May is devoted to the goose hunt. But that way of life is under threat from the hydroelectric developments that have flooded thousands of square miles of hunting and trapping territory. Rupert contends that by building dams and reservoirs in the Grande Rivière, Hydro-Québec has eliminated what was once a major route to trapping and hunting grounds in the interior. "We are losing our traditional way of life because of this and they don't know it," he added. For his part, Diamond stressed that the traditional life has been leaving no room for any Algonquin Cree traditions or traditions. As a result, the next generation may be more preoccupied with balance sheets than traditions.

BY ARCY JENSEN in Chisasibi

## CREATING A NEW WAY OF LIFE

### CHANGES THREATEN CREE TRADITIONS

Ornately do early this month, a herd of moose and deer. James Bay brought relief to the Cree village of Chisasibi. There, in a house equipped with a microwave oven, a color television, a stereo and other modern appliances, 74-year-old Joseph Rupert was sitting at his kitchen table, talking about the annual goose hunt. Rupert said that he planned to spend the rest of the month on the coast of the east shore of James Bay, about 50 km north of Chisasibi, 1,000 km north of Montreal, with his son and several of his nine grandchildren. If the game was plentiful, Rupert and his son will bring back enough food to feed the family through the summer. But even though hunting, trapping and fishing continue to be cornerstones of the Cree economy, local leaders are striving to create more manufacturing and service jobs because hydroelectric development and its increasing population are growing

threats to the traditional Indian lifestyle. Said Billy Diamond, chief of the Wabigoon band: "We need business and employment opportunities for our young people."

Creating job opportunities for the next generation is a challenge, because 90 per cent of the approximately 9,700 James Bay Cree are under 21. And according to federal government statistics, the unemployment rate among Cree teenagers aged 15 to 21 is now 36 per cent. The nine Cree bands have responded by developing a regional airline, Air Creebec, to serve northeastern Quebec and northeastern Ontario, and by launching their own construction company to build housing. As well, Diamond's Wabigoon band has a new enterprise, a harvesting company and a barge operation. Said the chief: "I'm your typical corporate Indian."

The largest and most ambitious of the ventures is the airline. Tribal leaders launched it in 1982, with an investment of \$12.5 million that

# FATEFUL CONSEQUENCES

DEVELOPMENT COULD TAKE A HEAVY TOLL

**T**he greater pylowings in a long-billed shorebird nearly stirred in grey, black and white feathers. Every summer, thousands of the pylowings, along with millions of other birds, lay their eggs in nests along the shores of James Bay. Then, the birds gorge on small fish, insects, snails and clams to store up energy for an early autumn migration that takes some of the birds as far south as Brazil. In late spring, the flocks of pylowings, sand-pipers, stilts, plovers, gulls and ducks return to James Bay, and the process starts again. But wildlife experts say that the cycle, and the millions of birds caught up in it, may be on the threshold of destruction because Hydro-Quebec's \$30-billion James Bay hydroelectric power project could destroy the feeding grounds. The New York City-based National Audubon Society reported in 1989 that many species "would be severely threatened, possibly even to extinction."

Canadian and U.S. environmentalists say that the danger facing migratory birds is both real and widespread. And they add that it is only one of the large-scale hazards revealed by the huge reservoirs, river diversions, dams and timber-cutting that will upset the natural order across 125,000 square miles of northern Quebec—as soon as part of a so-called Grande Rivière starts say that a vast reengineering of the landscape could have fateful consequences for countless ranging from shellfish and lake trout to caribou—and for the 9,700 Cree and 1,600 Inuit whose livelihood is in many cases depends on hunting and fishing.

That impact is already apparent in the region affected by the first phase of the power project that Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberal government launched in 1971. Between 1983 and 1985, Montreal General Hospital falconologists found that mercury levels in the bodies of ospreys who ate fish caught in the region exceeded by the project had doubled, far exceeding acceptable limits set by the World Health Organization (WHO). Federal fisheries department scientists discovered that a vast increase in the volume of spring migration left submerged in the project's massive reservoir was responsible for the higher mercury levels. Decomposing vegetation, contains bacteria that release natural toxic methyl mercury, but only in such a small scale. The result was more mercury in the whitefish,

pike, perch and lake trout that form a large part of the diet of the Cree, two-thirds of whom now have systemic mercury readings greater than WHO-recommended limits. Reported exposure to too much mercury can cause neurological diseases. Meanwhile, Hydro-Quebec scientists say that the mercury levels will return to normal after about 10 to 20 years,

wildlife" destroyed, perma. Declared Drouin: "The biggest likelihood perpetuated by our critics is that we are insensitive and irresponsible." The corporation, he added, "will not proceed with any project that is deemed environmentally unsoundable" by government, judicial or public review panels. But negotiations between the Quebec and federal governments



Cree hunters near Chisasibi criticize say that some damage has already been done

when the excessive decomposition is complete. But Alan Price, a British-born water chemistry specialist who represents the Cree on environmental issues, claims that it could be 100 years before the fish are safe to eat.

**Water:** In the same time, construction crews have either cleared or flooded thousands of square miles of Cree territory. James Nespey, 46, who works as a financial manager for the Cree in the James Bay community of Chisasibi, said that productive beaver-trapping regions he visited as a teenager now lie under more than 800 feet of water. Meanwhile, Cree, a 34-year-old Cree who teaches school education in Chisasibi, says that three-quarters of his family's trapline now lies beneath a reservoir. Added Cree, "It's basically ruined."

But Hydropower chairman Richard Drouin has denied accusations that the utility put completion of the James Bay project ahead of concerns for the environment. Drouin said that, since the project was begun in 1971, Hydro-Quebec's "respect for the environment and

for its agreement on how to proceed with environmental impact studies" remained unwavering, he said.

Still, environmentalists insist that the northern Quebec environment has already been damaged and will deteriorate further if engineers divert more rivers and dam lakes to create reservoirs that eventually will cover nearly 9,000 square miles. Northern Quebec river levels are lowest in winter and highest when ice melts in the spring. But because the demand for electricity, and for water to drive the generating turbines, is greater in winter, that seasonal pattern will be reversed, said Price. "You are putting what are the equivalent of spring-flood quantities of water down in the subarctic period and flushing out the fish from their normal habitat, along with any eggs that have been laid."

As said in the fall are to Quebec's native people, environmentalists say, there is much more at stake. Among the consequences of the project that critics predict:

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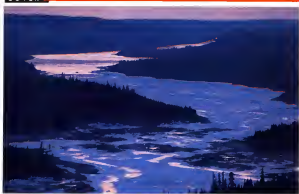
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La Grande River (above): Pessis a 'potential for the alteration and probably impoverishment of waterfowl habitat'

Artificially swollen rivers will carry more sediment, which could lead to the creation of deltas at their mouths. That sediment buildup could then destroy the rich beds of sea grass that are the main food source of migrating ducks and geese along the James Bay coast.

As for the demand for electricity runs and falls, the volume of water needed to drive Hydro Quebec's turbines does the same. As a consequence, the water levels in the reservoirs rise and fall too, with the result that their absence have become barren and will remain that way because vegetation, who as natural food source, will not have a chance to become firmly rooted.

The volume of fresh water flowing into James Bay during the winter months, when the demand for power peaks, will be up to 16 times the normal amount. That, says Pessis, will "play havoc" with fish and mammals that have adapted to a subarctic habitat.

Even the beluga whales that winter as open water among offshore shoals in James Bay could be endangered, experts say. For two reasons: the cows are accustomed to nursing their calves in spring in the freshwater runoff that will not occur in rivers harnessed by the project, and, second, more fresh water in win-

ter could lead to more ice when the whales swim.

Of all the conservation and environmental objections to increasing James Bay's generating capacity, the most vigorous and widely publicized has been put forward by the 600,000-member Audubon Society. In a 1989 report, it urged Hydro Quebec to make expensive investments on the outcome of far more detailed environmental impact studies that have been done so far. Said James (iv) Hensell, a 29-year-old Audubon environmental policy analyst: "An argument we put forward is that Quebec doesn't need to build new power plants to meet its energy needs." She added, "If they were more energy-efficient, they would have enough for their own needs and have enough left over for export."

The report said that further massive changes in water flow could jeopardize even polar bears and James Bay's 41,000 staged seals. It also expressed concern for the millions of migrating waterfowl and shorebirds that feed and breed on the bay's tidal flats and salt marshes. Said Hensell: "The entire population of some species depends on James Bay. If we are concerned about our own survival, we should realize that birds are the

most sensitive to environmental change and are the first to go." Said Pessis, "There is a definite potential in the long term for the alteration and, probably, impoverishment of waterfowl habitat." The environmental studies undertaken up to now by Hydro Quebec, said Pessis, "are not designed to focus on problems but to provide general reassurance. It's what happens when you create the developer to create his own system of environmental monitoring."

**Ruffled:** Spokesmen for other environmental agencies have also criticized the Quebec utility. Said David Green, co-president of the Montreal-based Victory over Pollution Society: "For years, we have had to accept this paternalistic attitude of 'Trust us, we know what's best,' but now more Hydro Quebec is finally going to have to answer some tough questions." Declared Jan Beyer, the Audubon Society's senior staff scientist: "In terms of wildlife and habitat, James Bay is the northern equivalent of the destruction of the tropical rain forests."

For his part, Hydro Quebec's Drouin said that the enterprise had been undertaken with concern for the environment and "a truly one of the seven wonders of the world." With the preservation of such a vast area at stake, long, painstaking—and perhaps costly—environmental hearings will clearly be needed to determine the future of Quebec's northern wilderness.

RAE COCKELL with TARA CHAMNAT in Toronto and GABRY JENSEN in Chatham



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## HEALTH

### Coping with hair loss

Self-help groups ease the emotional pain

Louise Rasmussen said that the disease begins with a small bald spot on her head. Then, her thick wavy hair began to fall out in patches. Within 11 months, she was completely bald. Rasmussen had also lost her eyelashes, eyebrows and, indeed, all her body hair to the unpredictable and so far incurable disease called alopecia areata, which causes sudden hair loss. Like most people who suffer from alopecia areata, Rasmussen, whose affliction began when she was 14, lost more than hair. She says she also goes for self-esteem. "You feel abandoned if you don't have hair," and Rasmussen felt now she and thousands of other alopecia areata victims are attempting to cope with their hair loss in new ways. She added that, last year, she joined the Montreal-based Quebec Alopecia Areata Foundation, one of several new self-help groups for people with the disease. "I thought I was alone," and Rasmussen. "Now, I know that nobody can get aspects of my life."

According to the San Rafael, California-based National Alopecia Areata Foundation, an estimated two million Americans and about 200,000 Canadians, including men, women and children, suffer from the disease. Alopecia areata is not life-threatening, and people who have it are otherwise healthy. But experts say that the change in a person's appearance can be psychologically devastating. Some people affected by the disease become so distraught that they attempt to mutilate, usually lose their identity," said Dr. Rasmussen, a Montreal dermatologist who treats patients suffering from hair loss.

Now, accusing sufferers of victims are turning to support groups to ease the emotional and to bring the once-obscure affliction out of the closet. Psychologists say that most people with alopecia areata want to be accepted as they are—as normal people who happen to be missing their hair. "That is why support groups are gaining momentum," said Tera Clark, executive director of the Edmonton-based Canadian Alopecia Areata Association. They are places where people understand it.

During the past five years, self-help groups for alopecia areata victims have been launched in Edmonton, Saskatoon, London, Ont., Toronto,



Rasmussen: An ever-increasing arsenal of medicines

Kagapan, Ont., Montreal and Halifax. In the United States, the National Alopecia Areata Foundation sponsors 66 support groups. Besides creating psychological wounds, support-group meetings provide an opportunity for victims to exchange practical information about new treatments, wigs and cosmetics. Members also say that sharing their experiences helps to reduce their sense of isolation. Said Clark: "You can't imagine the joy I felt when I first met another person with alopecia."

Doctors say that they do not know what triggers alopecia areata. Until recently, most physicians blamed it on stress. But Dr. Sigfrid Muller, chief dermatologist at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn., said that studies conducted there show that "stress has nothing to do with it." Now, Muller and most medical re-

searchers say that, in alopecia areata, the immune system, for reasons they do not understand, mistakenly attacks healthy hair follicles and suppresses their growth.

Alopecia areata begins with one or two bald patches. In 80 per cent of cases, patients' hair grows back within a few months. But, in the remaining 20 per cent, the disease progresses to more advanced stages. Some victims lose all their scalp hair, eyelashes and eyebrows. Others lose their body hair as well.

Doctors try to stimulate new hair growth with an ever-increasing arsenal of medications. Treatments include corticosteroid injections and, recently, a drug surprisingly designed to treat high blood pressure. But doctors say some of these treatments are expensive, sometimes painful and may carry the risk of severe side effects. They add that the treatments work for fewer than 50 per cent of patients and that, even then, results are temporary. Said Muller: "New hair often falls out again when the medication is discontinued."

Faced by miserable hair loss, many patients try to camouflage their baldness with wigs. "I tried a lot of different treatments and I have grown up on them," said Karen Kirtz, a 26-year-old Saskatoon insurance adjuster who wears a hairpiece to cover baldness caused by alopecia areata. Still, wearing a wig can take a psychological toll, according to Rasmussen. Thompson, a 44-year-old Vancouver dermatologist who wears a hairpiece for seven years to conceal the effects of alopecia areata. Said Thompson: "Aside from the fact that wigs are uncomfortable and fall off, making everything for the world is mind-bogglingly daunting."

At the same time, alopecia areata victims say that, outside support groups, they face largely unhelpful and unaccepting society. "People do not accept somebody without hair," said Margaret Clouston, a 45-year-old Montreal warehouse clerk who suffers from alopecia areata. Gary Wagner, a 22-year-old Montreal university student, said that the disease prevented him from functioning normally. "I had up to 100 bald spots going out to public," said Wagner. Others, like Saskatoon's Kirtz, say that the disease can ruin relationships because people mistakenly believe that it is contagious or hereditary.

Kirtz and other victims say that it may take years to change society's reaction to their affliction. Meanwhile, they are strong to change their own attitudes. Rasmussen said that, as a result of the confidence she has gained from her support group, she no longer cares what people think about her baldness. "Without without hair," she said, "I feel good about myself." Until recently, hair loss for alopecia areata, that may be the most effective relief from a debilitating malady.

SHARON DOYLE DREIDGER

# Beauty endangered

Amazon natives seek control of their land

During the past five years, concern among environmentalists and native leaders about the future of the Amazon rain forest has steadily increased. In Brazil and four other South American nations, cattle ranchers and gold prospectors have leveled huge tracts of the rain forest, bringing violence in their competition for resources, and disease to the more than one million Indians who live in the 2.7-million-square-mile region, and threatening the unique ecological balance. Last week, 30 Indian leaders from five countries and ecologists from nine nations met in the Amazon River port of Iquitos, Peru, 1,000 km northeast of Lima, to discuss the battle to save the rain forest. In numerous earlier speeches, Indians from Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru complained that environmentalists often failed to take the rights of the region's indigenous people into account in their efforts to save the rain forest. Declared Domingo Gorda, an Ecuadorian Indian leader, "For often, we have seen the defense of the Amazon conceived as merely defense of trees, rivers and animals."

Officials of the Lima-based Indigenous Peoples' Organizations of the Amazon Basin and that they called the three-day conference to bring the plight of the Indians to the attention of environmentalists. During the past three years, pressure from environmental organizations to ban clear-cutting of forests has forced government officials in the five Amazon-region countries to initiate conservation policies for Indians, better at least exclusion from the organizations, but weakened ecologists from organizations including Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth to support their demands for control over the land on which they live.

The Amazon rain forest is the largest in the world and home to half of all species on earth. To date, scientists say that they are aware how many different living species there are—or how many have already been lost. But tropical species are the source of about a quarter of all new drugs developed. In addition, as tracts of rain forest are leveled each year by mining, logging and cattle ranching, carbon monoxide is released into the atmosphere, trapping heat and contributing to global warming. Indian leaders last week acknowledged that they share environmentalists' concern

about the destruction of the Amazon, but they expressed their desire to contribute to any decisions that are made about their land. Said Wladimir Anagnon, an Ecuadorian Indian leader and non-president of the Indigenous Peoples' Organizations' co-ordinating body, "It's not sovereignty we're looking for, but rather autonomy and effective control over our lands."

Experts say that it is impossible to determine exactly how much of the Amazon rain forest has been destroyed as the result of logging, timber burning, cattle ranching, mining and industrial development. But experts using satellite photographs have estimated that about 340,000 square miles of forest have been destroyed—at an estimated rate of one per cent of the forest. Still, the São João dos Campos, Brazil-based Institute for Space Research reported in a book of maps released last month that, using the same recent images from the U.S. Landsat satellite, the amount of forest destroyed was closer to 180,000 square miles.

More than 40 per cent of the rain forest lies in Brazil, and the destruction of large areas has imposed growing hardship on the dwindling numbers of Amazonian Indians. Anthropologists estimate that there are only about 250,000 Indians left in Brazil, down from an estimated five million almost 500 years ago. Under the administration of the former president,

José Sarney, farmers and miners from southern Brazil had invaded Indian lands. As a result, one important tribe, the Yanomami, returned only 10 reservations on almost six million acres, less than a third of the tribe's originally designated territory, in Brazil's northwest Amazon area.

Later in March, Brazil's new conservative president, Fernando Collor de Mello, made his first official visit to the northern state of Roraima. The 49-year-old president promised a solution to the plight of the 10,000 Brazilian Yanomami, whose survival is threatened by the presence of 45,000 violent gold and tin miners in their traditional hunting grounds. According to the President's Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park, more than 1,000 Yanomami Indians have died during the past three years as a result of disease and pollution brought into the region by gold prospectors.

Over the past few decades, in retreat from white civilization, the Yanomami have retreated into the highlands and forest of Roraima, where they continued to live mostly off the land. But, in 1967, prospectors flooded the territory following the release of studies that indicated the presence of gold, diamonds, tin and bauxite in the region. The invaders leveled rain forest, polluted rivers with mercury used in the gold-panning process and spread diseases previously unknown to the isolated tribe, including malaria.

Collor's proposed solution was drastic: the

Brazilian army would dynamite most of the illegal settlements in the region, effectively barring nonindigenous outsiders. On May 3, more than 250 soldiers, six police officials and federal police blew up the first of more than 100

settlements, a 600-ft runway in Roraima. Collor declared that an additional 60 non-Yanomami territory would be dynamited during the coming months. But, by last week, only two other settlements had been destroyed.

Rain forest (below); Yanomami children protection of full land rights is the key



Some environmentalists condemned Collor's move as an empty gesture, because the dynamiting program only affected shacks on logging roads and blazes set by other miners. One land not designated as Yanomami territory, São Carlos Anagnon, co-ordinator of the Commission for the Creation of a Yanomami Park: "If the violators remain anywhere within traditional Yanomami territory, the Indians will continue to die." He added, "Allowing them to remain in some respect is the same as opening up the whole Yanomami territory."

In other Amazon-region nations, some expansion of rain forest has been preserved as the result of deals in which Brazilian debts are traded for rain forest. Last year, for one, the Washington-based National Conservation and the World Wildlife Fund bought almost \$11 million of Ecuador's foreign debt in exchange for an equivalent amount in conservation bonds. Under the agreement, the Foundation for Nature, Ecuador's largest private conservation group, will use the money to develop conservation reserves and other protective measures.

During the past three years, Bolivia and Costa Rica have entered into similar debt-for-nature exchanges as a way of reducing their foreign debts. And last week, Brazilian environment secretary José Lutzenberger said that Brazil is prepared to take part in such arrangements to help reduce its more than \$130-billion foreign debt. Declared Lutzenberger: "We are a government that wants to save the Amazon, but we have to prove this with actions."

But many of the Indian leaders who met in Iquitos expressed concern over the exchanges. They told environmentalists that they resent deals being made without their consent, especially to cover debts that they did not incur. During a trip last October to Washington, and again last week in Iquitos, the Indigenous Peoples' Organizations asked ecologists group to support a plan for so-called indigenous stewardship, under which Indians would assume control of their lands they occupy. For their part, ecologists at the conference said that they accepted the idea in principle. Said Severio Nageng, an Argentine Indian from northern Peru: "There is now a dialogue between us, and that is the first step to common action." And the Indians were clearly pleased that ecologists appeared to understand that the future of the Amazon is as much as much about its environment.

MIRA UNDERWOOD with MIRA ASANOFF and RICHARD HOUSE in São Paulo



Collor: some moves seen as self-perpetuating



# The tricky pitfalls of name-calling

BY GEORGE BAIN

**A**lan Fotheringham in the April 30 issue of *Maclean's* was preoccupied with stupidity—"the glaring stupidity reflecting those who are and, at least," "the stupid opinions being expressed," a supposedly stupid utterance by Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan, which ended "right up with the previous record-holders of stupid utterances: Lucien Bouchard of Ottawa and Gil Meakins of Quebec City" and, again, "the stupidity" of all these. Notable journalism, that. Hard-hitting. Fotheringham.

The trouble with muscular, hard-hitting, forthright journalism that denounces political, or other, stupidity on the basis of information of which a writer has neither first-hand knowledge nor documentation is that it may be the writer himself who winds up looking, ah, stupid.

Did Premier John Buchanan of Nova Scotia actually say "the Atlantic provinces would have little choice but to join the United States if Quebec were to leave Canada"? Having reviewed the applicable portion of the transcript of his interview with Alan Jeffery of the Halifax bureau of *The Canadian Press*, say that of which I am sure is that the concept of a lack of choice did not originate with the premier. That was the reporter's. The writer began with the premier's saying, "Canadians would have to wake up and be aware of the serious consequences of what might happen here." Jeffery added that he had used a column written by Pat Buchanan, a former White House aide, once a priest and television commentator in Washington, who had said that, if Canada were to secede, some of the parts might gravitate to the United States. The premier agreed that he might be right.

Therefore, if he didn't originate the phrase, he endorsed it (or: Well, yes, but he parroted along with Quebec's seapingers, which he called it big). Western Canada's perhaps preoccupied susceptible to a wordplay here. He cited the recent case there of a thoroughly alienated Reform Party. Could the Atlantic provinces, he

*The trouble with muscular, hard-hitting, forthright journalism is that it may be the writer who winds up looking, ah, stupid*

asked, "form our own country?" Alas! Say so, "the ramp of Canada," isolated, dependent on Ottawa? A possibility, but no more. Or the report of the United States? At that the reporter interjected, "It's almost no choice, isn't it?" The premise was undeniably quick to say. "My choice, that's right." But, again, the original proposition he was responding to was that, if Canada broke up, the United States might pick up the pieces, hardly a worse outrageous bit of outlandishness.

It seems to me that the story was not made to look bigger than it was by deliberate use of the part of the reporter, although some of the content might have given it better balance. Where the stupidity occurred was in the play given it—top of the news on *The National* on CBC tv, top of page 1 in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* ("Buchanan raises spectre of joining United States"), in which the sticky little fellow on the back page of *Maclean's* added the caveat might that it was "like shouting 'fire!' in a crowded theatre in the present fire-alarm atmosphere."

Yet! What also stirred his choice was the comment attributed to Meakins, Quebec's minister for intergovernmental affairs, that Canada

could survive without Newfoundland. Worse. According to Fotheringham, that was not just stupid, but the stupidest comment of the year before Buchanan's. How sad! Surely Meakins was speaking no more than the truth and, equally surely, all of us journalists are eternally committed to the self-interest of expression of the truth? Meakins' words made the point most fully as *The Ottawa Citizen* the three all-Meek provinces (Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Manitoba) together may then considered as all equalization payments, \$2.8 billion worth this fiscal year, and without the big province of Quebec, "equalization will be history."

On top of that, if it is caricatured the premier of Newfoundland to treat the risk of losing Quebec closer to separation in a negotiable part of the price of his having his wage, why isn't objectively stupid of a Quebec minister to reply, in effect, "If it comes to them or us, which is the more negotiable?"

And, then, there was Lucien Bouchard, "an otherwise intelligent man," who "confirms that he is in the Ottawa cabinet to represent Quebec's interests." This, in the parliamentarian world according to Fotheringham, "an added quagmire, since there is this old-fashioned theory... that federal cabinet ministers... are there to represent Ottawa's interests in the House of Commons, not otherwise." What is wrong with that in effect?

First, Bouchard did not say (or "confirm") that he is in the cabinet to represent Quebec's interests. Second, the old-fashioned theory is correct to mislead. What Bouchard said (March 1, 1994, April 10) was that he was elected as MP for Lac-Saint-Jean riding and had been "sent here with fellow federal ministers from Quebec to represent the interests of Quebec within the national government." Any MP, from anywhere, would say very much the same.

The MP who becomes a minister represents government policies as far as her province—and everywhere else. But there is representation to the other way round as well. Anyone who thought that Allan MacEachran, to pick one, did not also represent Nova Scotia's interests in the Premier and Trudeau cabinets was thoroughly out of touch. Now, John Goudie is frequently, and correctly, referred to as Nova Scotia's minister, in Donald Menon's column in *Maclean's*.

To say that Bouchard "confirms" is representing Quebec's interests suggests one of two things—truly impressive, hitting at something deeper, or as an unscrupulous of elementary facts of Canadian politics. It is unscrupulous by Fotheringham's recent book to the accused, or, more accurately, more accurate capable of replacing C. D. Howe in the Premier cabinet. There had been dedicated, quiet politics and had before there was a Premier cabinet to be so said of saying that Pearson's first-ever speech at the House of Commons was at opposition under a 1927 election had been elected nine years earlier and been a scarcely more. External Affairs (perhaps) in effect to be addressed on grounds of historical and political context.

## PEOPLE

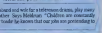
### A CAT-LOVER'S REWARD

Surviving death and greed have made him famous but, last week, Sir David was nearly working to collect his prize as the top cat-lover for 1996. Sir David, whose every-day cat, Sir David, is seen in more than 3,000 newspaper, including 65 across Canada, was honored by the American National Catperson's Society. But, said, 44, who lives in Albany, Ind., raised an event that Sir David the cat would enjoy—the award ceremony was held on a luxury cruise ship touring the Caribbean.

### Dual roles

Edmund Muscatelli says it's a while since a newspaper's coverage by his rules, but his role is not reduced by his transformation. Muscatelli, 32, currently serving in *Atlantic Canada*, is now based on West Wharfedale, a small town in Ontario. But, he is a Jew for Moscov, where the will play a Canadian diplomat in the name of Debrah. Muscatelli, a political leader, accompanying him will be his son, David, 12, and his 23-year-old husband, Mark Humphrey, a native of Vancouver who plays a character in CTV's popular television series *ER*. And, Muscatelli says that like his transformation, his parents, who are Jewish, were also Jewish when they were cast as a television drama, play every role beyond those of mother and father. Says Muscatelli: "Children are constantly pretending to be Jews or Catholics or whatever to know that our jobs are pretending to be other people."

Muscatelli's political leader



### RETURNING TO THE BATTLEFIELD

For Toronto-born journalist Morley Safer, 58, it was a surprise of recent years. One of the most famous reporters for the veteran *60 Minutes* series, now a star of *60 Minutes*, was covering the American war in Vietnam between 1965 and 1971. He returned on assignment for eight days in 1995, and says that he was so moved by the experience that he was prompted to explore his feelings in *Firsthand*, published last month. Says Safer: "The book, the last moments of war, is extremely personal, unadorned by journalistic objectivity."



Diana, Charles, understanding a loss of freedom

### Fitting the royal form

The royal routine was familiar: the next to a fashion show in a television on a royal wedding. But the wedding was new. Last week, Charles and Diana, the Prince and Princess of Wales, visited Hungary—the first official visit by the British Royal Family to a Warsaw Pact nation. During the four-day trip, Diana, 35, wore a display of British fashion, while Prince Charles, 41, spoke to university students. Said the Prince, speaking in front of a statue of Karl Marx: "People in the West have no concept of what it means to suffer the loss of freedom."



Edwards' crew: a race for antisocialists

### MAIDEN ON THE MAIN

They are the first antisocialists ever in the world's most grueling boat race. And Tracy Edwards, 38, the British captain of the 30-foot yacht *Maiden*, says that she and her crew of 11 men more than the usual maritime rules on their voyage against 21 other ships in the nine-month, around-the-world race, which ends later this month in England. Indeed, in the Caribbean last month, crew members defied their commands to enhance their lives. When a small plane appeared overhead, Edwards had to issue an unusual order: "Girls, girls," she commanded, "get your clothes on."



Le Jansé in the Ringiersteins award-winning costumed/circus/charismatic performers and inventive productions

## SHOW BUSINESS

# Big-time big top

Cirque du Soleil soars to new heights

A small wooden table and seven chairs are the only props for one of the most exciting acts in the new show by Montreal's Cirque du Soleil (Sun Circus), which opened last week at the troupe's home town. Holding an ornate, multi-tiered butterfly cote in one hand, Russian performer Vasily Denisovskiy rocks a couple of chairs on the table and dials on top. As his wife, Victoria Denisovskaya, hands her one chair after another, he climbs higher and higher, all holding the cote. Many members of the capacity audience of 2,500 attending the premiere last week gaped when the illusion of chairs teetered on the table edge. Moments later, they cheered wildly as Denisovskiy balanced the cote on one leg of the suspended, freestanding chair—then nonchalantly performed a backflip.

The start is a fitting symbol for the spectacular success of Cirque du Soleil itself: after starting out with minimal resources six years ago, with a cast of about two dozen Québécois and international performers and a \$2.5-million guest from Québec, it has risen to dizzying heights. During a two-year tour of North America that ended November 18th, it won rave reviews and a host of celebrity fans including Michael Jackson and Meryl Streep. Now a rapidly expanding operation, it is still spending time with its innovative approach to the ancient art of the circus.

Cirque du Soleil's big top is getting bigger all the time. In addition to embarking on another North American tour after the current one—North American tour after the current one—North American tour, the company plans to send another troupe to Europe later this year and yet a third group to Japan in 2004. And

company officials expect that revenues, which reached \$115 million in 1999, will climb to \$125 million this year. What it has yet to make a profit, the company anticipates a return to 25-percent profits on revenues of \$100 million when it completes its expansion by the end-2004. Much of the Cirque's growth is the result of sophisticated marketing and the sale of licenses that range from buttons to videos of the company. Said Jean David, the troupe's vice-president of marketing: "Cirque du Soleil is a cultural enterprise—and for us the word 'entertainment' means something."

A great challenge new entrants face is to retain the quirky, intimate magic that made it famous. Unlike a conventional circus, the company does not use animals and has only one rag instead of the traditional three. It has relied on an engaging mix of charismatic performers and innovative productions to win over audiences. The performer in the current show, British actor Brian Dewhurst, 57, said that the Cirque's progressiveness is rare. Said Dewhurst, who has been a full-time circus performer since he was 14: "Traditional circuses are busy closed to new ideas. Cirque du Soleil has wonderful modern music, direction and choreography." The Cirque's founding president, Guy Laliberté, a 36-year-old Montrealer who used to paint the lot for a living as a fire-breather, says that company has remained in touch with its street-

performer roots. He added, "Everything here is based first on passion and pleasure." The company's latest production, *Navarro* (Explosion), now playing in Montreal's Old Port, features stunning costumes, exquisite lighting and dynamic live music—characteristics that have become hallmarks of the Cirque. As the premiere, such elements as former governor general Jeanne Seigné and Montreal Mayor Jean Doré joined the audience in a standing ovation at the end of the three-hour show. "It's a marvelous new approach to the circus," said Seigné. "There is so much intelligence at work." But some reviewers, while praising individual acts, found *Navarro* Explores somewhat unfocused in comparison to the Cirque's previous productions.

In fact, the opening night audience did not see the show in its finished form: company members and staff, because of problems with rigging and sound, the company had a week of rehearsal time. As a result, while individual acts were polished to a brilliant shine, dramatic acts involving such characters as an extraordinary, orange-robed Ringiersteins (Gisèle's Premier La Santé) were poorly developed. The new production features an almost entirely new cast: only two of the current cast of 30 performed in the Cirque's previous show, *Tiïd*. Le Cirque himself, it is the case that the Cirque plans to take to Europe later this year, and the company expects approximately half of

its original members to remain for that tour. The Cirque's track record has enabled the company to obtain some extraordinary acts. Chinese juggler Wang Hong, billed as the "Magic Feet of the World," displays a unique-like precision as he balances and whips umbrellas on his feet. In another spellbinding act, Russian acrobat Vladimir Kishinev enters the ring wearing only a purple leotard and a shimmering glove. He wields a pair of black straps attached to an overhead pulley system around his bony arms, and in four dozen pulls on a rope attached to the ceiling, he stands in an impossible aerial ballet.

As in the early days of Cirque du Soleil, the Québécois performers provide some of the most captivating acts. Four students of Montreal's National Circus School, a key source of talent, were in place as pipe climmers in their first act, in which they climb in acrobatic-like acts. In January, the girls, aged 11 to 13, won a gold medal at the World Festival of the Circus of the Future in Paris.

Posessing a street-performing background and an innate entrepreneurial flair, president Laliberté guided the Cirque to international fame. The company has become so successful that government grants account for only three to four per cent of its budget. Merchandising is an increasingly important source of income. Marketing vice-president David noted that about 18 per cent of the troupe's revenues

comes from the sale of T-shirts, records and other souvenirs. David Davis. "In the future, I expect that we will make more money with merchandise than from the show itself."

With the company's success have come the inevitable growing pains. Many performers have left, due to burnout or a desire to return closer to home. Angela Laurier, a popular costar of earlier shows, left two years ago, citing burnout with having to perform the same show over and over. But soon, Québec audiences will be able to see Laurier's performance once more: she has joined the troupe's newest circus, *Cirque du Soleil* (Circus du Soleil). Founded by a former Cirque du Soleil performer, Rodrigue Tremblay, the troupe gave its first performance on May 12 in Montreal. Nearly half of its 18-member company are Cirque du Soleil veterans.

When the Cirque launches its Montreal run on June 3, the company will pack its 600 tons of equipment (60 16-wheelers and the road for the vintage big of its tour, which includes engagements in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Then, in 2001, it will take *Navarro* Explodes to Toronto, New York City and other eastern markets. North America is becoming familiar territory—and the Sun Circus is aware to take on the world.

FAMILLA DONG is in Montreal with VICTOR DUFFY in Toronto

# Paradise lost

John Mortimer writes a dark English comedy



Mortimer with wife Penelope, daughter Emily: involved 'in an up-market punk'

When John Mortimer published his 1985 social comedy, *Paradise Lost*—with its skewering of both Conservative politics and liberal pretent—a senior member of Margaret Thatcher's government described him as "an up-market punk." That, the 60-year-old author said, was "certainly preferable to being called a down-market punk." Unlabeled by the handiwork from Tory circles, Mortimer has recently published a sequel, *Twelve Against*, featuring the return of Tory politician Leslie Tateham. Like *Paradise Lost*, the new book is a deft comedy of manners about the vicissitudes of an idyllic northern English village. But a darker vision pervades the sequel, with developers threatening to build a large town in the valley. "England is in danger of becoming one large selfishly interested theme park," Mortimer told *Maclean's*. "The English countryside is the source of all our poetry, and much of our literature. If we destroy it, we destroy a wellspring of culture and Englishness."

Best-selling author, playwright, screenwriter and translator, Mortimer himself is a major contributor to that literature. With his prolific literary career—34 books and scores of plays, film and television scripts, including the popular 1981 TV adaptation of Evelyn Waugh's novel *Brinkley Dancers*—translated alongside a busy legal career, which he pursued for

34 years until 1982. The son of one of England's leading drama or lawyers, Clifford Mortimer, he first specialized in divorce, and later switched to criminal law.

Among the muggings and murders, he handled several high-profile obscenity cases ("What my lawyers called 'dirty books' cases" and my friends called "breasts of speech cases," Mortimer wrote). In 1968, he successfully defended Robert Selby Jr.'s novel *Last Exit to Brooklyn*—recently made into a feature film—against obscenity charges in Britain. Earlier that month, Mortimer found himself, coincidentally, in the same Toronto courtroom as Selby. "We had never met, and I believe I had won his case in Britain, and he said, 'Right, thank you very much,'" said Mortimer. "He seemed like a very nice fellow."

The courts provided Mortimer with rich material for his fiction and inspired one of his most accessible comedies, *Paradise of the Blackthorn*. Based on a novel by the 19th-century English novelist, George Meredith, it depicts a village in the English Midlands, where a group of people, including a doctor, a lawyer, a farmer, and a woman, are all involved in a complex web of relationships. The novel is a dark comedy of manners, with a focus on the lives of the people who live in the village. Mortimer's novel is a dark comedy of manners, with a focus on the lives of the people who live in the village.

going barrister. And in San Francisco, a group of fans have created a *Paradise Society* that meets monthly as a mock-up of Mortimer's *Paradise* friends meet. "I never go to any of the meetings," Mortimer said. "Whatever a group is out there, I can visit it only a story—and of course I get to be as whatever I want about things."

And Mortimer says some of those things with wickedly happy grace. In *Twelve Against*, society members are portrayed as well-served. When developers announce a plan to build a whole new town in the village, the local politicians, local doctors, and a family of child hunters start a campaign to stop it. Caught in the middle is the village's best friend, Leslie Tateham.

The Conservative politician—framed by what Mortimer describes as a "respectful first," a constant appreciation of the proper power of money, and a deep respect of those who wish to build it out to the unforgiving poor—has been from his beginnings in the village. The village's best friend, Leslie Tateham, has just bought a country house on the planned town and installed his beautiful, new wife, Jean. There, he is an enthusiastic supporter of environmental initiatives—and the developers' plan to build it as his own backyard.

The book echoes Mortimer's own involvement with campaigns against overdevelopment near his rural home in the Chiltern hills, north of London. The author lives in a house called *Twelve* with his second wife, Penelope, and the younger of their two daughters, Rose. In 1968, Mortimer purchased the house which belonged to his parents, in his 19th year. The house had been long in the family, and he had inherited it from his father, an eccentric, brilliant lawyer who never acknowledged that he had inherited it. He was able to continue his law career with the greatest aid of his wife, who had been all his friends and all his talent had as court. The TV version, starring Laurence Olivier and Alan Bates, was shot at *Twelve*. "It was a very strange feeling to watch Laurence Olivier pretend to be in the same old where my father had," Mortimer recalled.

Later, as he celebrated 1982 autobiography *Clings to the Windmills*, Mortimer wrote that his father advised him that, if he was determined to be a writer, he should study law in order to have "something to fall back on." The author took his father's advice, but that did not impede him from indulging his love of writing. In fact, he was surprised when his literary success came from his legal career. "I don't know how I did it or for so long," he said.

Recently, Mortimer completed a new set of stories called *Paradise of the Blackthorn*. The first two, he will be made into another stage TV series, following contract negotiations that Mortimer describes as "slightly less complex than those involving the two Greenways." For *Paradise*, his return will be an occasion to celebrate—perhaps over a glass of two of Chateau Thuret Brandy.

DAVID TURBIDE

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# A safety hitch

Accidents threaten a federal PCB program

On Feb. 1, only two weeks after technicians in Goose Bay, Labrador, began testing a mobile incinerator, a power interruption caused an eye-blasting fire to fail. As a result, 18 workers were exposed to the fumes from burning polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), a suspected carcinogen. Then, in mid-April, a cooling-system failure caused parts of the incinerator to melt. A similar portable incinerator in Swiss Hills, Alaska, also stopped functioning last November because of water-pressure problems. Environment Canada officials said that none of the accidents exposed technicians to health risks. But the mishaps undermined a program aimed at destroying PCBs that are stored in many parts of Canada. Federal officials said that publicity about the accidents could make it difficult to find communities willing to act as test sites for the program, under which Ottawa hopes to destroy thousands of tons of PCBs by the end of 1993. Said Steve Hart, director of

Environment Canada's waste-management branch, "There's no question, the incidents will slow down the process."

Since August, 1988, when a fire in a PCB warehouse forced the evacuation of more than 3,000 people in St-Basile-le-Grand, Que., Ottawa has been working on plans to destroy stockpiles of PCBs that are stored at more than 3,600 government-controlled locations across the country. To overcome objections at many communities to PCBs being destroyed locally, the federal Environment Minister Thomas McMillan unveiled a plan in 1988 to use portable incinerators that could be temporarily installed in communities to burn PCBs in the area. Now, federal officials say that they fear that the accidents could threaten public acceptance of the program. Said Capt. Gregory McGuire, project manager for the Goose Bay test program, which is being conducted at the nearby Canadian Armed Forces base: "One of the things we probably did wrong was to leave the

impression that this would run without a hitch. Nothing mechanical ever does."

Although they were never manufactured in Canada, 43,000 tons of PCBs were used across the country, mainly in electrical and modern in electrical equipment, between 1959 and 1977. A series of studies in the early 1970s showed a link between them and liver cancer laboratory animals. Although scientists do agree about whether PCBs can cause cancer in humans, in 1977 Ottawa restricted their use by banning sealed electrical equipment. According to government figures, about 10,000 tons of PCBs are still being used in Canada, while 3,500 tons are in storage along with 125,000 tons of PCB-contaminated waste. Federal officials say that about 18,000 tons of PCBs cannot be accounted for and probably disappeared as a result of unrecorded use and disposal.

Even though experts agree that stored PCBs should be destroyed, Canadian communities have resolutely opposed having disposal units in their areas. At the time of the St-Basile fire, for instance, a proposed permanent incinerator there that could be used for hazardous chemicals was cancelled. But because of a backing of Alberta PCBs slated for destruction at that site, Quebec officials decided to look elsewhere for disposal. In August, 1988, the St-Basile waste was sent by train to a landfill for debris that is in a northeast of Windsor, looked for their own to be chosen at the site. Eventually, Swiss Hills was chosen over two other communities but also wanted the incinerator, which provides employment for 60 people. Since it began



Portable incinerator: community concerns about being used on test sites

construct a toxic-waste facility in Semetrium, Ont., were blocked by local protests. In Ontario, a proposed permanent incinerator near a small town, Ont., 125 km southwest of Toronto,

is currently the subject of environmental hearings at which local groups are opposing it. In sharp contrast, when the Alberta government announced plans in 1983 to build a toxic waste incinerator, residents of Swiss Hills, 240 km northeast of Edmonton, lobbied for their own to be chosen at the site. Eventually, Swiss Hills was chosen over two other communities but also wanted the incinerator, which provides employment for 60 people. Since it began

operating in September, 1985, the plant has burned more than 16,000 tons of toxic waste—including 3,700 tons of PCBs—and built up an impressive accident-free record.

As part of Ottawa's test program, but still federal officials began operating a mobile incinerator beside the permanent incinerator at Swiss Hills. Both systems destroy toxic wastes by subjecting them to temperatures as high as 1,200°C. Paul Verro, technical manager at the Swiss Hills plant, said that a ton of incinerated waste emerges from the equipment in the form of a pill-sized piece of ash that is then buried in a special landfill site. Verro said that the

burning process is so complete that smoke from the incinerator "is cleaner than the air that people breathe in Los Angeles or New York."

Still, the mishaps at Swiss Hills and Goose Bay threaten the federal PCB destruction program. The incinerator in Goose Bay was burning 3,500 tons of contaminated soil left after the demolition of former U.S. air force radar bases in Labrador. So far, after two levels down, only about one-third of the waste had been destroyed. Now, the Goose Bay facility has been shut down until repairs and further tests are completed by the Canadian Government, D. H. Materials at Canada Ltd.

The staffers at the Goose Bay incinerator have led to growing concerns about the program among local residents. Said hospital administrator Boyd Rowe, a member of the local citizens' committee formed to monitor the incinerator program: "Up to now, there's been support, but the community fears that if something more serious happens, we'll be on the line." For his part, Goose Bay's McGuire acknowledged that the incinerator failures have been a disappointment to him. Said McGuire: "The company has to show us that the system can be made more reliable." Meanwhile, Ottawa's officials have noted the possibility that it plans to transfer federal stockpiles of the suspect chemical by the target date of 1993 will not be implemented.

ANNA FRIDLAND with JOHN HORSE in Calgary and LAWRENCE JACKSON in Goose Bay

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BOOKS

## Massage and murder

*Charlie Salter takes on another mystery*

**SENSITIVE CASE**

By Eric Wright  
Doubleday, 218 pages \$29.95

Near the end of Canadian crime writer Eric Wright's latest book, our character picks up a novel that is either a riddle and a conundrum. You like any books that don't "big happy ending ones." The remark almost describes *A Sensitive Case* itself. The 61-year-old Wright's

The personal problem that Salter faces in the new novel is the possibility that his wife, a successful businesswoman, is having an affair. Another sensitive case—the one that goes the book its title—is the murder of an attractive 42-year-old massage therapist, found dead in her apartment building. Primary suspects include a well-known provincial deputy minister, a popular television-show host who wants to write a crime novel, and a university services administrator masquerading as the institution's president. The first two are the therapist's former clients, and the other is a former lover. The narrator opened a legitimate establishment, but because of the prominence of the suspects, the possibilities for entertainment seem endless.

For that reason, veteran detective Ned Pickert is assigned to Salter's *Sensitive Affairs* unit to help out. By assuming the subtly laid detective into the story, Wright effectively establishes a complementary point of view. Pickert's domestic situation contrasts with Salter's: a widower who dreams of building a big career for his youngest son-in-law, he has to contend with an interfering former sister-in-law and, unexpectedly, with an English teenage girl looking for her long-lost grandfather.

Accuracy never seems a concern in all his work. Wright draws subtle differences in the social habits of the two police detectives. Salter and his wife have just installed a state-of-the-art kitchen, complete with quarry tiles and beige carpeting. The senior constable Pickert, meanwhile, has displaced his small west. Toronto's heart and sleep in the basement. The author is better at teasing to class distinctions than others. In Toronto scenes more like the private, genteelly British community of 28 years ago than the culturally diverse city that it has become.

*A Sensitive Case* is an accumulation of small pleasures, from its direct, unaffected prose and tidy structure to its way better and finely observed sense of character. Wright also knows how to plant his clues when the murderer turns out to be someone other than one of the major suspects, readers can only blame themselves if they are more surprised than they should be.

MORTON RITTS

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**BOOKS**

# Renegade Communist

*Joris Yeltsin takes aim at Soviet leaders*

**AGAINST THE GRAIN**

by Boris Yeltsin  
Translated by Michael Glenny  
Seymour: 260 pages, \$26.95

**B**oris Yeltsin's story is an odd example of the volatility of Soviet politics. Little more than a year ago, Yeltsin, a leading progressive in the Soviet government, appeared to have been almost assured by his political enemies—expelled from the Politburo and demoted to a junior post. But now, in the aftermath of his landslide election to the newly created Congress of People's Deputies in March 1990, and his subsequent election to the office of President of the Supreme Soviet, he has produced a lively, revealing autobiography. In *Against the Grain*, Yeltsin, if tentatively, promotes his own version of his taking so odd a course. The book is a fascinating account of his impressive climb to the heights of the Soviet government, his ups and downs, and his political rebirth last year as the country's first free elections in more than 70 years.

Born in 1931 to a construction worker and a stenographer living in the eastern Russian village of Belovo, Yeltsin paints a bleak picture of his youth. He describes it as "a fairly joyless time" during which his family "had only one aim: to survive." In school, he combined hard work with a cheerful unconcern that prefigured his later political career. At his primary-school commencement, Yeltsin made an impromptu speech denouncing the authoritarian style of one of his teachers. He graduated with an excellent record, "discipline," for which his final report read "autodidactic."

Still, Yeltsin's rebellious nature was generally believed by his administrators for years—at least when he was the case in charge. After graduating from the Ural Polytechnic Institute in 1950 with a degree in engineering, he was offered a job as a foreman at a paper-milling company in Tbilisi, near the Turkish border. But he chose to find work as an apprentice in large tractors. When he finally accepted the job as foreman, one of his first decisions, he writes, was to cut the wages of one group of workers by more than 50 per cent. That eye for efficiency did not go unnoticed by party officials, and during the next 28 years he earned a succession of important, lucrative promotions. In 1976, then-Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev appointed Yeltsin to the position of first secretary of the Communist party in the northwest province of Sverdlovsk. Nine years later, Mikhail Gorbachev invited him to join the Politburo.

As he discusses his rise, Yeltsin comments on the general inefficiency in the Soviet econo-

my with his personal success as a lieutenant, setting the stage for his broader thesis that it is specific individuals, as much as the Soviet system, who are to blame for the current ills of the Soviet economy. Chief among Yeltsin's targets are Gorbachev and his inner circle, from which Yeltsin was abruptly expelled in early 1988. No sooner had he joined



Yeltsin's self-styled 'madcap radical'

the Politburo in April, 1990—the same month that Gorbachev announced his program of perestroika (restructuring)—than he began to make his own mark with the leader and with top-ranking conservative ideologues like Gennadi Yavlinskiy, one of those "regular shrews" over subjects ranging from bureaucracy to politics to a national drive against alcoholism as a corrupting, if necessarily one-sided.

Yeltsin's expulsion from the Politburo followed a detailed and critical speech that he delivered against Gorbachev in June 1987. And finding the stage of the president's anger first-

hand seems to have sharpened Yeltsin's appreciation for the subtleties of the leader's political cunning. Although he portrays Gorbachev as a man determined to be "in control, constantly and permanently," he is also able to recognize that it was that same crafty determination that secured Gorbachev's early success in ending the idea of perestroika—while, on the whole, Yeltsin claims to support. In Gorbachev's master plan, Yeltsin speculates, "There is the conservative Ligachev, who plays the villain, there is Yeltsin, the madcap radical, and the wise, conciliant hero is Gorbachev himself."

Despite his own carefully crafted image as an outspoken proponent of full-blown liberalization, Yeltsin appears more forgiving of Gorbachev in the book's closing chapters. When it comes to setting out his own proposals, Yeltsin's differences with the leader are suddenly corrected more on the pace, rather than on the character, of change in the Soviet Union. Yeltsin ultimately leans up to a pure market economy and a multiparty political system.

Indeed, he focuses on the need to eliminate graft, decentralize power and find acceptable succor for the state—while leaving intact a system that, overall, has served Yeltsin well. Such equivocating diagnoses the fact that ignores the better part of Yeltsin's book, even as it leaves a memorable portrait of a man who has carved his own niche in the Soviet political system by learning when to cut with—and when to cut against—the grain.

VICTOR DITTEL

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### BEST-SELLER LIST

#### FICITION

- 1 *Friend of My Youth*, Henry (1)
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- 3 *Thirteen Reasons*, Morison (4)
- 4 *The Russian Revolution*, Latham (5)
- 5 *Windy Legs and All*, Folger (6)
- 6 *The Evening News*, Hickey (7)
- 7 *Golden Rex*, Smith (8)
- 8 *Less of Silence*, Wherry
- 9 *Devils and Saints*, Jones (9)

#### NONFICTION

- 1 *Yeltsin and the Society*, edited by Assembly and Yeltsin (1)
- 2 *Peeling with Success*, Power (4)
- 3 *Barbarians of the Gate*, Burroughs and Hoffer (2)
- 4 *Allegedly*, 2000, Nozick and Alford (3)
- 5 *The Engineer's New World*, Fennell
- 6 *My Youth and My War*, 1990
- 7 *A Coat of Many Colours*, Allen
- 8 *Man at Work*, 1991
- 9 *Washington's Relationship*, Gellish (5)
- 10 *Life, Latham (3)*

(1) *Peeling with Success*

Compiled by Brian Bell

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## Hiding behind a very thin screen

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Let us imagine something. Let us imagine that the American government was so docile and cowardly that it would not let its citizens know how much the top executives of publicly traded companies were paid. Let us imagine, further, that this jolly-faced Washington government would not even reveal the salaries of executives of government-owned corporations. Finally, imagine what would happen if Americans found out that all this information could be found in Canada. You can correct: There would be nothing as the stress and the public lynching of the politicians responsible for this obvious outrage.

When the opposite happens, Canadians do nothing. Canadians don't make waves. Canadians let their masters get away with murder. Once again we have to go to the Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington to find out that the five top executives at the top of Canadian National Railways have fattened their wallets with money that averaged 59 per cent last year.

Why can't Canadians find out the salaries of the people who run Crown corporations and lived on fillet, caviar and champagne? Because we have a cowardly government.

The Americans, who have a grasp of what democracy is all about, require that all companies that trade stocks or bonds must reveal what their top executives make. Thanks to the Yelks, we are told that one group vice-president William Morris got a nice little boost of 46 per cent last year, going from \$211,329 to \$255,493. CN president Ron Lawless, poor fellow, got only a 13-per-cent increase, and so his income was only from \$375,000 to a paltry \$416,000.

There's senior vice-president John Sturgis, whose 14-per-cent increase took him to \$121,577. Senior vice-president for Western Canada Ron Widger got 58 per cent to hit \$248,130, and chief financial officer Yves Masse got 32 per cent to go to \$296,335.

These are the same nice people who agreed contracts with their 30,000 union employees for wage increases of 4.5 per cent for 1989.



four for 1980 and 4.5 for 1985. Hypocrisy, as we know, grows in Ottawa like mushrooms. But the attack of this one would cut your collar.

The other candidate to rival Lawless and company for two-faced greed is that fearless foe against inflation, Bank of Canada governor John Crow. Turns out this guardian of fiscal restraint has been quietly accepting annual increases of up to 31 per cent each year. A wonderful model for those loyal Canadians who have been told to sack in their guts and help Crow and Michael Wilson in their valiant battle against excessive wage demands.

These are two aspects to the magnitude of the Mulroney government as such cases. The first is the incredible blindness of those at the top in Ottawa as to the effect as the voters. Who can respect Wilson or Mulroney or Crow's incessant demands for restraint and pinning our shoulders to the wheel when the ladies alone have their noses so firmly in the trough? Crow

know what the job paid when he so eagerly lobbied for it. Once in, he puts the pedal to the metal when it comes to his own bank account.

The second point is the obvious evidence that damned government's ubiquitous attitude to the business community. When they were trouble on the free trade issue in 1988, it Mulroney in a panic put a blue-ribbon committee of businessmen to campaign aggressively for the pact. The Prime Minister in a week hastily assembled a group of Twisted businessmen and told them they should encourage their employees to support the Merc Libre jumble. Just got those people at the helm into line.

Then anyone dares, with that charming smile, this government has any interest in bringing in simple legislation that would allow us to know what our own Crown-owned executives? The Access to Information Act, which was supposed to be about the public's right to know, is already a farce. Under it rules, salaries of major government servants and those in its civil the Lawless are "personal information."

The perks and expenditures of cabinet ministers, in the new imperial style of presidency now in place beside the Robins would shock most Canadians. There is no suggestion of comparable lifestyle among the top-paid privileged in Ottawa that is certainly different from their counterparts in Washington. It began building during the Trudeau years and it now been thoroughly entrenched in the six years of Mulroney's rule. Crow or Lawless are simple men plus all an attitude that there's a bottomless barrel there to slurp out of.

It's no great surprise that the Conservative party, the house of Arthur Meighen and George Drew was designed to represent business interests in Ottawa led—in 1969—one could have expected that it would try to appeal to a broader range of the electorate. Its absolute adherence to the needs of Bay Street and inside indicators that it has decided to retire, in that direction as it sinks lower and lower in the polls.

John Crow will be remembered for his personal greed long after the public has decided to ignore his structures on the economy and his intransigent attitude. Ron Lawless will be celebrated for his cravened-in-Washington inaction even after it's forgotten what he did to the Yelks. And Michael Wilson and Brian Mulroney will be remembered because, in their confusion about high goals, they couldn't see what clear signals such hypocrisy gives to those simple folk who can't wait to get to the ballot box.

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